THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XXI.

SESSIONS 1914–1915; 1915–1916.

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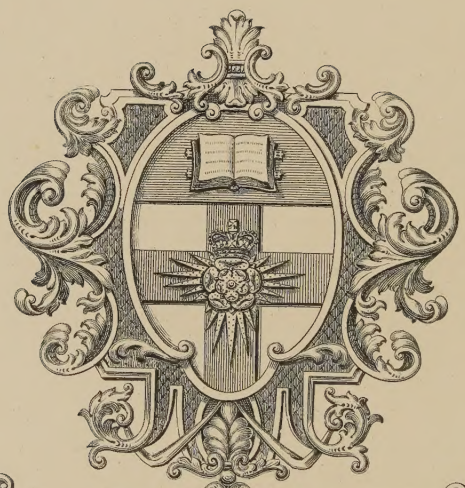

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ΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Οϊδ' Ἀΐδαν στέρξαντες ἐνόπλιον, οὐχ, ἅπερ ἄλλοι,
στάλαν, ἀλλ' ἀρετὰν ἀντ' ἀρετᾶς ἔλαχον.

Anth. Pal. vii. 252.

THE FOLLOWERS OF PRAXITELES.

(PLATES I.—V.)

A VERY large proportion of the statues that fill our museums are liable to be dismissed somewhat curtly in descriptions as belonging to the 'School of Praxiteles.' It would be interesting to know exactly what percentage of the total number of ancient statues which have come down to us is formed by the Aphrodites, Satyrs, Erotes, and others usually classed under this head, but it must certainly be a very large proportion.

Considering the very large number of statues which we treat in this way, it is startling to discover that our literary evidence contains no record at all of any such school ever having been in existence. We know of followers and pupils of Pheidias, of Polycleitus, and of Lysippus, but we hear of no followers or pupils of Praxiteles or of Scopas, in spite of the undoubted and obvious influence of their style upon the sculpture that now fills our museums. It is true that we know of two sons of Praxiteles, Cephisodotus and Timarchus, but the list of their works, though containing a Leto, an Aphrodite, and two statues of Artemis, includes a greater number of statues which we should be inclined to call un-Praxitelean in character. Thus we find portraits of philosophers, orators, and poetesses, statues of Enyo and Cadmus, and the rather problematical 'symplegma' at Pergamon, the charm of which lay certainly in its realism rather than in the more Praxitelean qualities of suggestion and impressionism.

Moreover there is a very significant difference in the relation of the so-called 'school of Praxiteles' statues to Praxiteles himself, from the relation of the 'school of Lysippus' or 'school of Polycleitus' statues to

[1] This paper formed one of a course of Lectures on Greek Art, which Mr. Dickins delivered in Oxford during the winter of 1913–14. It has been thought better to print it as it stands, rather than to make any attempt at revision.—[*Ed.*]

their original sources. Most of the latter could be attributed without grave improbability to the master himself. The Praying Boy, the Resting Hermes are not unworthy of the chisel of Lysippus. The Benevento head, the Florentine Idolino have been attributed to Polycleitus himself. But no one has dreamed of attributing works like the Medici or the Capitol Aphrodite, the sleeping Hermaphrodite, or the Venus Callipygus of Naples to Praxiteles himself. It is true that this does not apply to all the works of what we shall define as the Praxitelean school; the Boston girl's head, for instance, has been claimed as a work of Praxiteles himself. But the Boston head belongs to a different branch of the school. The characteristic of the Praxitelean Aphrodite type is essentially its vagueness, its veiled suggestion, its almost tremulous delicacy, whereas the Aphrodite types of the so-called 'school of Praxiteles' are often brazen, and invariably quite clearly defined and outspoken. Moreover their style is invariably photographic, if I may use the word, depending on a minute study of the surface treatment of marble and otherwise showing a quite conventional treatment of detail. A little of the Praxitelean impressionism clings sometimes to the hair, but otherwise they are usually very cut-and-dried performances. This is usually accounted for as being due to the dullness and conventional character of the Roman copyist, or rather the copyist for the Roman market, since the copyists must themselves have been usually Greeks. The explanation is not sufficient, because the Cnidian Aphrodite herself survives to us only in a poor copy, but displays a quite different feeling from works like the Medici or Capitol statues, which are themselves works of very much greater skill. The immense number of Aphrodite replicas of this type are inspired by some common original, but that original is not the Aphrodite of Cnidus; it is some later adaptation of the type from which the poetry has been largely eliminated and prose substituted.

We can perhaps take a clearer example of this from the fashion of drapery in later Attic art. The draped female figures which we know as the Herculaneum maidens (Pl. I. 3) wore a style of costume which became almost universal for a long period in the history of the draped female figure. Some of the earliest, if not the earliest, examples of this drapery are on grave reliefs of the fourth century. The archetype has frequently been attributed to Praxiteles on the ground of the similarity of the dress of the Muses on the Mantinean base (Pl. I. 1). To this I shall return,

denying that it is a work of Praxiteles at all. For the moment I would only point out that this very schematic and conventional drapery-scheme is quite different from the highly naturalistic drapery of the Olympian Hermes (Pl. I. 2). It appears to me impossible to attribute the two to the same artist. If this contention is correct, we get precisely the same prosaic intermediary in drapery as in the nude figure between Praxiteles and the so-called members of his 'school.'

One might easily point to more modern parallels of this state of affairs—to the fact that followers frequently do not imitate their real master so much as some interpreter who stands between them and serves as a bridge from one to the other. Velasquez, Rembrandt, Giotto are all cases in point. It is always so with the great impressionists. Their work first influences other great artists, who give an easier and more prosaic dress to the new ideas, and then the crowd of followers imitate the easier transcript rather than the original. We find just the same thing when we consider Scopas. None of his later copyists reproduce his real characteristics. They copy an early adaptor who translated him, so to speak, into everyday language. One more example: the Aphrodite of Melos is a very close copy of a great statue of the Hellenistic age. But there was another copy of that statue which we now call the Venus of Capua, a copy which did not copy slavishly but translated into an easier language. Of the innumerable later replicas of this type all, without exception, follow the Capuan copy and abandon the Melian.

Our first business then with the 'school' of Praxiteles is to discover the intermediary or intermediaries who translated, as it were, the delicate and elusive impressionism of the great Attic master into types which could serve as models for the more concrete, definite ideals of Hellenistic sculpture, and here we are at once faced with the fact that the 'school' of Praxiteles falls into two sharply distinguished classes. In the *symplegma* of Praxiteles' son, Cephisodotus, there was an undoubted advance in realism; this advance is carried out in the later statues of the type of which we have been speaking, the Medici and Capitol Aphrodites, the Venus Anadyomene, the crouching Venus of Daedalus, and the hundreds of erotic and sensual types, hermaphrodites, *symplegmata*, etc., which are perhaps most largely connected with the school of Pergamon. In all these types there is something of the Praxitelean ideal, though, as already explained, it is translated into more prosaic language. The whole class is

an extension and development of the advance in realism and naturalism made by Praxiteles himself. In the words of Pliny, 'ad veritatem Lysippum ac Praxitelen accessisse optime adfirmant.'

But Praxiteles had another side to his genius—impressionism. He was the first great impressionist in his treatment of hair and eyes. There is a large class of Hellenistic sculpture, mainly connected with Alexandria, which reproduces the characteristics of this impressionism in what we may call a studied vagueness of outline and slurring of sharp surfaces. The Boston girl's head (Pl. III. 2) and the Psyche of Capua (Pl. III. 1) are good examples of the development of a style which we find adopted with more restraint in the Leconfield Aphrodite (Pl. II. 2).

Mainland Greek sculpture fell into a great decline with the death of Lysippus. Pliny speaks of an interval of 130 years before sculpture revived again after 296 B.C. However we may interpret this passage, we must admit that the development of sculpture in the Hellenistic Age occurs abroad mainly in Pergamon, Rhodes, and Egypt. Although we cannot draw any very rigid rule, it is roughly true to say that the realistic side of the art of Praxiteles was developed at Pergamon (where, as we have seen, was to be found the *symplegma* of his son Cephisodotus,) and the impressionist side at Alexandria. One of the great statues of Alexandria was the Sarapis of Bryaxis. This statue has been recognised in numerous replicas in European museums, shewing a heavily-shadowed, bearded head (Pl. II. 3) marked with much of the impressionist vagueness which the Italians call by a useful word *morbidezza*. *Morbidezza* means really so perfect a finish and gloss to the marble, so soft a treatment of details like eyelids and lips, that definition and sharp lines are almost eliminated from certain features, precisely those features which are most elusive in nature. This is a form of impressionism which is a most marked characteristic of Alexandrian art in the third century, and it is certainly a development of Praxiteles' tendencies as seen in the Hermes (Pl. II. 1) and still more in the Leconfield head. It is not at all improbable that Bryaxis was in that case the actual go-between of whom we were speaking earlier, and that he first translated the impressionism of Praxiteles into a language which could be copied more easily by the sculptors of Alexandria. At any rate we have, I think, reasonable ground to attribute any work in which this *morbidezza* is exhibited in an exaggerated form to the third-century school of Alexandria, and that is accordingly where one should place the

Boston girl, claimed as a genuine Praxiteles, and the Psyche of Capua. Whether the Leconfield Aphrodite is a genuine Praxiteles or not is a difficult question, answered in the affirmative by Furtwängler, who, as will be remembered, also accepts as an original the Athenian Eubouleus (Pl. II. 4). That these are originals and not copies is, I think, probable owing to the extreme beauty and perfection of their finish. Taking the Eubouleus first, we have a very dubious inscription in Rome, Εὐβούλευς Πραξιτέλους (Löwy, *Inschr. Gr. Bildhauer*), and a head from Eleusis, copied also in Roman times and therefore famous. There is no evidence whatever to connect the two or to indicate that the Eleusis bust is a deity at all.

As compared with the Hermes head there is a great divergence to be seen both in the character of the hair and in its execution, long drilled channels being used freely on the Eubouleus and not at all on the Hermes. The locks falling over the forehead are not Praxitelean, though they remind us of the locks of the Sarapis of Bryaxis. The shape of the eyes is quite different from the Hermes, and so are the proportions of the face. On the other hand, the exceedingly delicate treatment is the work of a master hand. But the curious bust form, the sketchy drapery, and the use of the running drill in the hair, all seem to me undoubted signs of Hellenistic origin. It might be a work of the old age of Bryaxis or of one of his circle, where the use of those hanging masses of hair originated.

The Leconfield head is a fine example of *morbidezza*, though the vagueness is not developed as far as it is in later works. It is certainly a fourth-century original, far finer than any of the other Praxitelean Aphrodite heads, and all Furtwängler's praises of its execution are warranted, while the conception of the goddess behind it is much superior to the original of the Medici Venus. I believe, therefore, that we are justified in accepting this head as a Praxitelean original, and it gives us the limit to which he carried the uses of impressionalistic vagueness of surface. The Alexandrine works, which we shall pass in review, far exceed this limit.

In the Sieglin head of Alexander (Pl. III. 3) the eyelids are almost eliminated. In the Psyche (Pl. III. 1) the features are vague in the extreme. The Boston head goes further and almost gives the impression of a wax head which has been slightly chiselled (Pl. III. 2). Here too the inferiority of the adaptor is shewn most clearly in the mechanical inspired smile, in the thin straggly hair, which was partly finished in stucco like so many Alexandrine heads, and the dull unbroken oval of the face. It is

difficult to understand how this poor head could have been so readily attributed to Praxiteles.

But this particular school is not the ordinary type of the followers of Praxiteles; rather it is a specialised product of Alexandria. The ordinary type of so-called Praxitelean statue is a work like the Medici Venus (Pl. IV. 3). The difference between this goddess and the Cnidian (Pl. IV. 2) is simply the substitution of the definite for the indefinite. The Medici and the Capitol (Pl. IV. 1) types of Aphrodite are nearly as conscious of an audience as the 'Susannah with the Elders' so much favoured by the followers of Rubens; the Cnidian goddess shews only the innate discomfort of the usually-clothed human form in its nudity. The latter is a subtle psychological touch and the former is a crude piece of realism. Furtwängler attributes the original of the Medici type, on which the others probably depend, to Cephisodotus and Timarchus, the sons of Praxiteles, and very likely he is right. We see at any rate evidence here of a greater carelessness of the subtle, of a desire for the obvious which characterises the followers of Praxiteles. Such works as the Crouching Venus of the Bithynian Daedalus shew a mere study in nature without any interest in what the Greeks would have called ἦθος. It is photographic; there is nothing behind what you see. This must have been the chief characteristic of the *symplegma* of Cephisodotus, presumably an erotic group of which the realistic effect of the fingers pressed into the soft flesh was the chief attraction. *Bravura* of all kinds was the Pergamene speciality until it finally blossomed into the full baroque style of the Gigantomachy frieze.

The Aphrodite, then, of the followers of Praxiteles is a coarsened and prosaic rendering of the divine patroness of Cnidus. The Medici, the Capitoline, the Callipygus, etc., are not goddesses; they are merely naked models, better, considered as realistic sculpture, but with less of the qualities that go to make great art. Who was it who served here as the intermediary between Praxiteles and his followers in the way in which we have suggested Bryaxis served for the style of Alexandrian *morbidezza?* The *symplegma* suggests that Cephisodotus is the man, or at any rate one of the group of pupils who must have been in close connection with such an artist. The study of the drapery question introduces us to another intermediary.

The Mantinean base (Pl. I. 1) is sometimes referred to Praxiteles,

more usually to pupils working with him while he confined himself to the statue of Leto and her children that stood on it. But Pausanias says nothing about the reliefs being by a different hand, nor was such a practice usual; Pheidias carried out all the details of the Athena and the Zeus. All critics have, however, felt the inferiority of these reliefs, and Amelung would attribute them to the sculptor's youth. But the faults of a young genius are not those of dullness and mechanicalness. There is no touch of the chisel of Praxiteles about these very conventional figures.

Now an inscription has recently been found at Argos with letter forms of the late fourth century, noting the institution of a Leto cult to celebrate the driving out of Pleistarchus, brother of Cassander, from Argos. This must have been his flight before Demetrius Poliorcetes in 303. Cults of Leto are very rare in Greece, but a Leto temple at Argos is mentioned by Pausanias, II. 21. 8, with a statue, by Praxiteles, of the goddess accompanied by Chloris. Chloris belongs to the Asiatic version of the myth, such a version, in fact, as would be known to Demetrius, the lord of Asia. The Praxiteles who made this statue cannot be the great Attic sculptor, but must be his grandson mentioned by the Scholiast to Theocritus, V. 105, as a contemporary of Demetrius. The name is found even later on sculptors' inscriptions.

Once the Argive Leto is given to the younger Praxiteles, probably a son of Cephisodotus, we feel some suspicion about the other Leto statues. Doubt has long been felt about the emerald statue at Myra in Lycia, which was probably not a Greek town before Alexander's conquest. This statue must probably be given to the younger Praxiteles as well as the two Leto statues at Megara and Mantinea. Each of these towns had a Macedonian garrison at the end of the fourth century; Megara was liberated by Demetrius in 397, and we are told by Pausanias of a second group of Leto and her children in addition to the old group of Apollo, Artemis and Leto visible on the coins. The second group would belong to the younger Praxiteles. Mantinea also presents suggestive evidence; the temple, we are told, was a double one divided by a wall. This looks like a later addition of the Leto cult to an earlier temple. The statues were made by Praxiteles in the third generation after Alcamenes. If the date is right, this should point to a century between the two artists and would hardly suit the elder Praxiteles. Moreover, the appearance of the

Marsyas myth on the base suggests an Asiatic influence, as there was no connection between Marsyas and Mantinea.

The external evidence, then, is distinctly favourable for a younger Praxiteles.

The internal evidence for date rests not so much on style, since it is possible to urge that the work was entrusted to a pupil, as on the details of costume. Some of the Muses of the base wear a type of costume which cannot be paralleled for the first half of the fourth century. The high waist, the carriage of the himation across the body with a hand wrapped in it, and the hair-style known as *melonenfrisur* are characteristics of the latest of the large Attic grave-reliefs, *i.e.* those between 350 and 320. The arrangement of folds is schematic and conventional, shewing none of the fresh naturalism of the drapery of the Hermes (Pl. I. 2), and it is difficult to see in the reliefs any evidence, not so much of the workmanship as of the supervision, of the great Praxiteles; but as a work of about 300 it falls admirably into its place as the product of a wholly uninspired, imitative Praxitelean school. It has been compared with the *Pleureuses* sarcophagus, but the latter is a work of much greater skill and effect; both, however, as well as the Attic grave reliefs, are 'Praxitelean' in the purely imitative sense. At Pergamon the realistic side of Praxiteles' art developed; in Alexandria his impressionistic peculiarities were exaggerated; on the mainland itself, mere uninspired copying replaced development of any kind and led to a long period of stereotyped reproductions until the advent of a new art-movement in the second century.

Only one of these mainland directions of imitation need detain us—the eclectic combination of Scopaic and Praxitelean characteristics.

It is not only the Niobids of which we might, with Pliny, feel dubious whether they are works of Scopas or Praxiteles. The same doubt might well be applied to a number of works of early Hellenistic or late fourth-century date, such as the Demeter of Cnidus, the Hypnos type, and many others.

The styles of the two great masters of the middle of the fourth century, while different enough in detail, were at one in aim—the effort to 'inspire the marble with the passions of the soul.' Once infuse the dreamy contemplation of Praxiteles with a little of the intensity of Scopas, once strike a medium between the long Attic head of the one and the round Peloponnesian head of the other, and there is no artistic bar to the

development of an eclectic 'pathetic' school as distinguished from the 'athletic' school of Lysippus. And for a time this antithesis continued to exist between the more specifically Lysippic art of the Peloponnese and Rhodes and the more Praxitelean and Scopaic art of Pergamon and Asia Minor. It was not until well into the third century that the local Hellenistic schools began to develop on their own lines apart from the overshadowing styles of the great masters of the fourth century.

Southern Asia Minor, where both Scopas and Praxiteles worked, seems to have developed an eclectic school of this kind, since both the Niobids and the Demeter are connected with this region. In the portrayal of tempestuous motion such as we see displayed in the drapery of the finest of the replicas—the Chiaramonti Niobid—we must surely see the influence of Scopas, but the Niobe heads (Pl. V. 1) are more of an Attic oval type than we should expect from the author of the Tegea fragments (Pl. V. 2). The frame of the Demeter head (Pl. V. 3) is predominantly Praxitelean, but the expression of restrained grief is an instance of Scopaic πόθος. At a much later period, this eclectic school which survived on the mainland in stagnating Athens long after it had been superseded in the more brilliant centres of Hellenistic life, produced a whole crowd of somewhat archaistic works much appreciated in Rome, of which one of the finest is the Anticythera bronze (Pl. V. 4), where the calm Praxitelean profile is combined with Scopaic hair and intensity of gaze and a somewhat Lysippic pose. The genius of the great masters of Greece expired in a wave of weak eclecticism.

GUY DICKINS.

A LAMENT

Νὰ πάω ν'αὔρω ἕνα βουνο
Νὰ ἦναι μοναχό τοῦ;
Νὰ πῶ ἐγώ τόν πόνο μου
Καὶ αὐτό τόν ἰδικό τοῦ.

Βλέπεις ἐκείνο τὸ βουνό
Ποῦ ἄναψε καὶ καίγει
Κάποιος ἀγάπην ἔχανε
Καὶ κάθεται, καὶ κλαίγει.

'O let me find a mountain height,
A hill that stands alone!
That I may tell my sorrow there
And it may tell its own.

You see how smoke and smouldering fire
Across that mountain creeps?
Ah! there is one whose love is lost,
Who sits alone and weeps.'

ROGER M. HEATH.

In the spring of 1914 a party of students belonging to the School went up to Euboia, and at one of the villages where they stayed an old man recited the little Greek poem. Roger Heath, on the spur of the moment, made the translation, at once musical and literal, which was taken down by another member of the party. The Greek words were written out by a Greek lady.—[*Ed.*]

THE SITE OF OLYNTHUS.

EARLY in 1915 during a short journey in Macedonia I took the opportunity of exploring the site and neighbourhood of Olynthus[1] (Fig. 1),

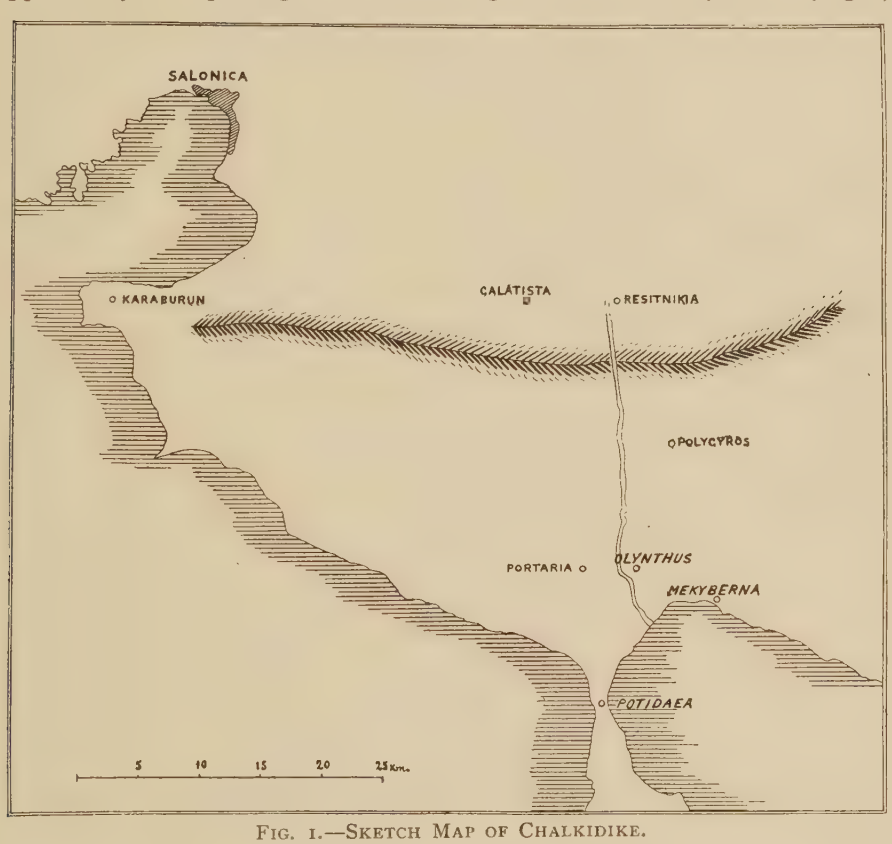


FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF CHALKIDIKE.

because it is hoped that the British School at Athens will before long be able

[1] See :—Voemel, *De Olynthi situ*, pp. 1 ff.; Leake, *N. Greece*, iii, p. 154; Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, ii, pp. 160 ff.; Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten*, i, pp. 38 ff.; Χρυσοχόος, Ἐπετηρὶς Παρνασσοῦ, iii (1899), pp. 142 ff.; Δημίτζας, Μακεδονία, pp. 607 ff., 621 ff.

to begin excavations there. I spent two days in the territory of Olynthus examining sites at Hagios Mamas, Myriophyton and Molivopyrgos as well as the ruins at Pizla, Magazúdia and Palaioportes, all near Polygyros, which are those of mediaeval or modern villages. Although somewhat impeded by a heavy fall of snow I had the satisfaction of seeing for myself the comparative warmth of the climate of Olynthus even in winter. All about the reputed site of Olynthus the snow soon melted, whereas to the west beyond the village of Portaria towards the Kara Burun promontory, the snow remained for several days. The biting north-west Vardar wind which freezes the western end of Chalkidike in winter is kept off from Olynthus by the range of hills behind Polygyros, some of which are over three thousand feet high. Along the coast from Hagios Mamas to Molivopyrgos the territory of Olynthus is warm, faces south and is fertile, producing oil, corn, wine and silk. The low ground towards the coast is covered with olive groves, while the hills to the north are clothed with oak woods which were undoubtedly finer in antiquity than they are to-day. In most of the houses in Polygyros the doors and floors are of oak instead of the usual pine. These circumstances, coupled with the good anchorage[1] at Molivopyrgos (the ancient Mekyberna), make it easy to understand the wealth and commercial importance of Olynthus. In addition to its other advantages, from Polygyros there runs the best road northwards into the upper country. Iron is said to be found in the hills and to-day mines of chrome and magnesite are worked along the coast.

As regards the actual site of Olynthus there are two opinions. The older view, that of Leake, places the site at Hagios Mamas where some inscriptions have been found. Leake, however, does not seem to have ever visited Hagios Mamas himself, but to have followed a local tradition also adopted by Cousinéry,[2] Demitzas and most subsequent writers on Macedonian topography. The newer view of Chrysochoös supported by Struck, places Olynthus at the mound on the east or left bank of the river of Resitnikia opposite the farm of Myriophyton (Fig. 2).

At Hagios Mamas there seems to be no ancient site at all and the inhabitants state that if to-day they want stone for building they fetch it from Portes (the ruins of Potidaea-Kassandreia) which is within the bounds

[1] Struck's suggested harbour for Olynthus near Hagios Mamas does not seem likely.
[2] He however puts Olynthus at Myriophyton in his map.

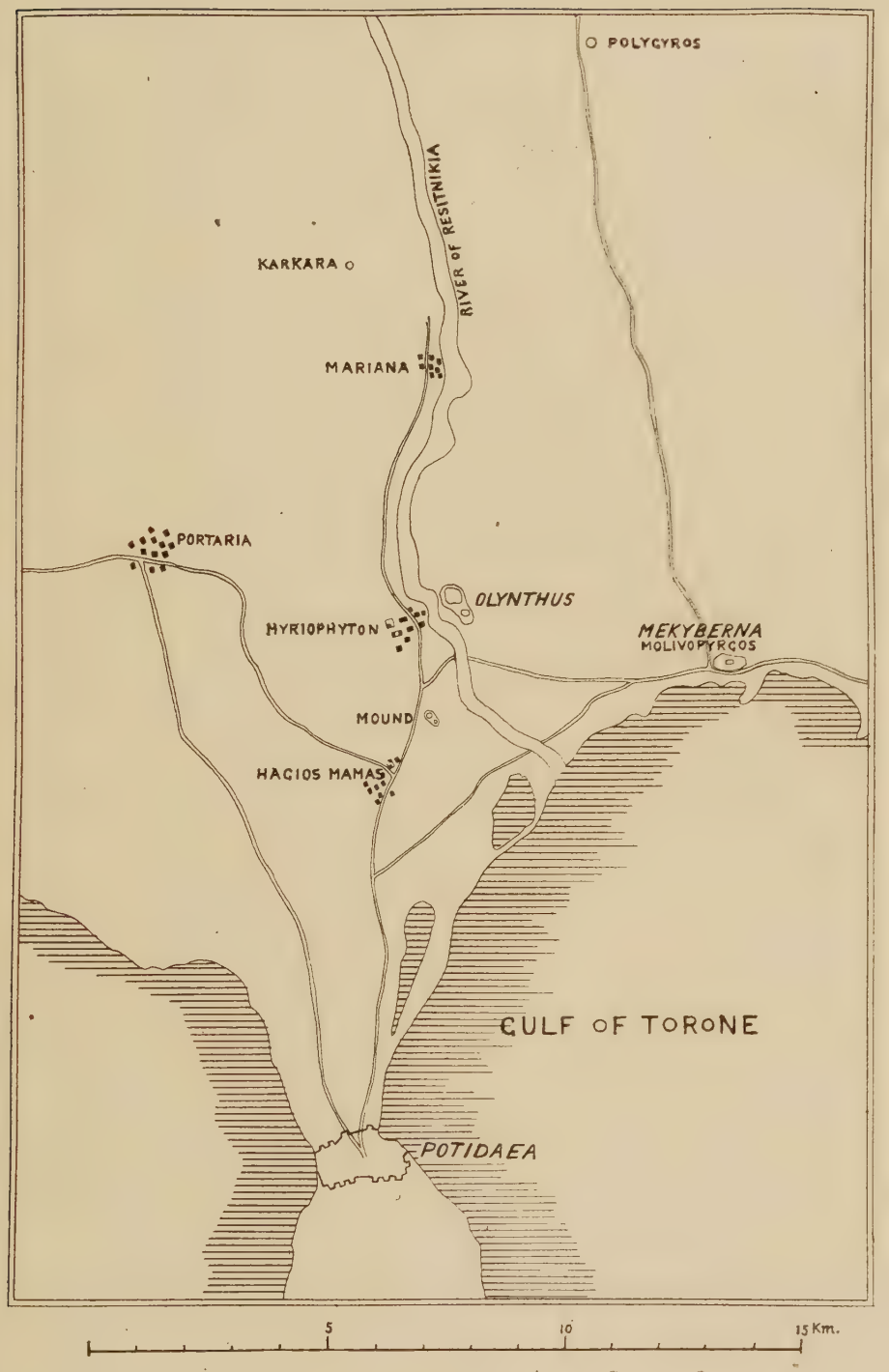


FIG. 2.—SKETCH MAP OF THE DISTRICT ROUND THE SITE OF OLYNTHUS.

of the village lands. Apparently, then, the inscriptions[1] at Hagios Mamas should be attributed to Potidaea and to Olynthus. At Myriophyton there are two inscriptions[2] and on the opposite bank of the river near a chapel of the Virgin, to the south of Olynthus is another.[3] At the church of Hagios Nikolaos near Polygyros is one inscription[4] and two more are reported to exist or to have existed there. One is said to have been removed by the bishop; the other my guide could not find because of the snow. There are also in Myriophyton village many cut blocks of marble and stone all brought from the site on the other bank of the river. This site agrees with the distances given by Thucydides,[5] who says Olynthus was sixty stades from Potidaea, and Harpocration who states[6] it was twenty stades from Mekyberna. The site of Potidaea is fixed from its well known position on the isthmus uniting the peninsula of Pallene with the mainland. According to the Austrian Staff Map, which is not remarkable for accuracy in this district, from Potidaea to the site at Myriophyton is a distance of twelve kilometres and thence to Molivopyrgos six kilometres. Hagios Mamas on the other hand is eight kilometres both from Potidaea and from Molivopyrgos. Thus apart from all other questions, calculation of the distances given by the ancient authorities points to Myriophyton rather than to Hagios Mamas as the most likely site for Olynthus. One other natural feature confirms this. Xenophon[7] mentions a river flowing by the walls of Olynthus and from his account the river appears to have been on the Potidaean or western side of the city. At Hagios Mamas not only is there no ancient site, but not even a river to flow under its walls. The site at Myriophyton stands directly on the left or eastern bank of the Resitnikia river, which is thus on the Potidaean side of the city.

The site in question is a large, flat-topped mound about half an hour in circumference, with a small bastion like projection at its southern end where are the ruins of a Turkish tower. This mound is mainly of natural formation, composed of hard ground covered by a flat, table-like layer of conglomerate. Above the conglomerate is a layer of soil from one to two

[1] Δημίτζας, Nos. 744 to 753 except No. 750 for which see below.

[2] Both grave stelai (fourth–third century?): one reads ΚΗΟΙΣΟΔΩΡΟΣ | ΘΕΥΓΕ-ΤΟΝΟΣ; the other ΚΥΔΡΩ | ΘΕΟΚΡ · · Ο⊂.

[3] A grave monument much defaced and almost illegible. At Karkara and Mariana are a grave monument and a stele, perhaps from Olynthus.

[4] Demitzas, No. 750 = *C.I.G.* 2007 *i.* [5] i, 63. [6] *s.v.* [7] *Hellenica*, v, 3. 3.

metres thick and full of ancient debris. I was shewn some late terracotta figurines (probably of the third century B.C. or later) which peasants had found here, and all round the edges of the mound-walls Greek tiles and potsherds are to be seen. The mound from its size was clearly the site of an important ancient city and that city from the topographical indications given above was in all probability Olynthus. In the plain to the east the peasants say they find ancient foundations when they plough their land or plant olive trees. The idea that the city extended far into the plain is to them a proof that it was a very great one, but it does not seem likely that it extended much, if at all, into the plain. There is however in the plain to the east a small funereal tumulus and on a ridge to the north is a field where the peasants have excavated cut blocks of stone. Although the site on the mound seems to have been badly plundered yet the depth of the soil gives hope that excavations may bring to light important finds, especially in view of the well known inscription[1] from Olynthus now in Vienna.

Between Myriophyton and Hagios Mamas on the west side of the river is a large prehistoric mound which has already been referred to elsewhere.[2]

Molivopyrgos, the site of Mekyberna, is a long oval flat-topped mound lying close to the shore some six kilometres south-east of Olynthus at the head of the Gulf of Torone. The mound is of natural formation, but is thick with ancient remains ranging apparently from prehistoric to late Hellenic. The mound takes its name, 'Lead Tower,' partly from the ruined tower on the top, partly from the fact that leaden sling-bullets and clamps are often found here. That it was Mekyberna, the port of Olynthus, is highly probable. It is the nearest anchorage to Olynthus and the remains of an ancient mole are to be seen stretching out into the sea, and the inhabitants say that on a vase fragment found here was inscribed MHKYBEPNA.

It will thus be seen that though the identifications of the sites of Olynthus and Mekyberna are not absolutely certain, yet the probability is very strong in favour of the sites described being correctly named; it remains, however, for excavation to settle the point decisively.

A. J. B. WACE.

[1] Hicks-Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (ed. 2), No. 95 = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*[2] No. 77.

[2] *B.S.A.* xx, p. 128, B. 9.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE TROAD.

THE preparation of the commentary on Strabo's account of Asia Minor undertaken by the Hellenic Society is seriously delayed by the war —not only from the general preoccupation with more immediate emergencies, but by the fact that several of the most important collaborators are actively employed on Government service in the Near East. Under the circumstances it may be pardoned if I publish some of my own material at once, in the hope that I may receive criticism and advice in some of the more difficult problems. I begin with one or two points in which further consideration has led me to modify views already made public. For the location of the sites mentioned I must refer the reader to the map of the Troad, Pl. XXI., in *B.S.A.*, xvii. All the places named are marked in Philippson's *Karte des N. W. Kleinasien.*

I.—THE SITE OF PALAISKEPSIS.

In Vol. xvii. of this *Annual*, 276 ff.,[1] I discussed the question of Skepsis and Palaiskepsis and pointed out that there is certainly an error in Strabo's text where he says (xiii. i, 52) that the modern Skepsis is "60 stades lower" than the ancient. The site of the modern Skepsis is known; it is clear from Strabo himself that Palaiskepsis was in the Aisepos valley; and no point in that valley is within 60 stades of Skepsis on the Kurshunlu Tepe. I suggested that a numeral had been dropped, and that Strabo had written not ξ′ (60) but ρξ′ (160). I now see, what ought to have struck me at once, that the correct reading is σταδίοις σξ′ (260). The dropping of the repeated σ is the most natural thing in the world. With this in our mind, it is possible to locate Old Skepsis within narrow limits.

[1] May I ask my readers to correct (without forgiving me) an unhappy slip on p. 276, where I have twice (lines 6 and 10) written Granikos where I meant Aisepos?

The relative passages (omitting irrelevant matter) are:—

xiii. i. 52. *ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν Παλαίσκηψις ἐπάνω Κεβρῆνος κατὰ τὸ μετεωρότατον τῆς Ἴδης ἐγγὺς Πολίχνας· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τότε Σκῆψις, εἴτ' ἄλλως εἴτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ περίσκεπτον εἶναι τὸν τόπον . . .. ὕστερον δὲ κατωτέρω σταδίοις ἑξήκοντα (leg. διακοσίοις καὶ ἑξήκοντα) εἰς τὴν νῦν Σκῆψιν μετωικίσθησαν ὑπὸ Σκαμανδρίου τε τοῦ Ἕκτορος καὶ Ἀσκανίου τοῦ Αἰνείου παιδός.*

45. *τοῦ δ' αὐλῶνος τοῦ περὶ τὸν Αἴσηπον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ῥύσεως αὐτοῦ πρῶτόν ἐστι Πολίχνα, τειχῆρες χωρίον, εἶθ' ἡ Παλαίσκηψις, εἶτ' Ἀλαζόνιον . . . εἶτα Κάρησος ἐρήμη καὶ ἡ Καρησηνὴ καὶ ὁμώνυμος ποταμός . . . ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ Αἰσήπου μεταξὺ Πολίχνας τε καὶ Παλαισκήψεως ἡ Νέα Κώμη καὶ Ἀργυρία . . , φησὶ δ' οὖν τὴν Παλαίσκηψιν τῆς μὲν Νέας διέχειν πεντήκοντα σταδίους τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Αἰσήπου τριάκοντα.*

In the second passage the river Karesos marks the eastern extremity of the 'dale' (*αὐλών*) of Avunia. The northern side of the dale was therefore divided between Polichna and Palaiskepsis. Polichna lay westwards; it is apparently much more important than the other, and presumably held at least half of the northern valley-side. Palaiskepsis is therefore to be sought three miles north of the Aisepos in the eastern half of the dale.

Its position is further defined by the distance of 50 stades from Nea—for the form of the name see xvii. 281. The site of this place is uncertain, but the conjunction with Argyria at least suggests that it was a village which had sprung up in connexion with the silver mines in the western part of the Dale (see xvii. 279). It appears that the hills in which the old shafts are still to be seen are bare and uninhabitable; the villages of the present day lie lower down at Karaidin[1]—a Turkish and a Christian Karaidin. These I conjecture to represent Nea Kome; and it is further probable that for *Ἀργυρία* we should read *ἀργύρεια*, so that *Νέα Κώμη καὶ ἀργύρεια* will mean 'N.K. with silver-mines.'

Putting all these data together, we get a definite location for the site of Palaiskepsis. It is at or near the modern village of Koyun-eli.[2] This lies about 25 stades from the river and between 55 and 60 from Karaidin—near enough to Strabo's 30 and 50—and just about 260 from Skepsis at the Kurshunlu Tepe. It is about equally distant from the probable site of

[1] About two miles NE. of Argyria on the map.
[2] About one mile NNW. of Karabey on the map.

Polichna (xvii. 283)[1] and the mouth of the Karesos. It is a likely place for settlement at any period, as it lies at the foot of the steep ascent by which a direct path goes northward into the Granikos basin—the pass, in fact, by which Tchihatcheff came southwards from Mavris (*B.S.A.* xviii. 295). And there is one small and uncertain piece of evidence which is at least not inconsistent with this location.

Fabricius (*Stzsb. d. Berl. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1894, 903–4) found, 'between Chirpilar and Karaidin, on a height S.W. of Koghanjuk in the forest,' three boundary stones, of which one was marked ΟΡΣ, one ΟΡΑ, and the third Ο only. The point is hardly to be identified exactly; Philippson does not mark Chirpilar on his map, unless it is identical with his Chirpan. He does, however, give 'Kogandjik,' and from the circumstances it would seem that the spot is a mile or more south of the river and about four miles from Koyun-eli on the opposite side.

It is known, from another inscription found by Fabricius, that the ancient name of Balia Bazar further east—now the principal village of Avunia—was Argiza. He is therefore no doubt right in interpreting ΟΡΑ as *ὅρος Ἀργίζων*. He takes ΟΡΣ to be *ὅρος Σκηψίων*. This seems quite possible. There does not appear to be any reason why 'Skepsis' should not have had territory on the south bank of the river as well as the north. If it is correct, it follows that the 'Old Skepsis' called itself simply Skepsis, in rivalry with its younger offspring, and some light may thus be thrown upon the enigmatical phrase of Strabo (see xvii. 277) *ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Παλαισκήψεως ταύτης διατεῖναι τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν καὶ ἐς ἄλλους πλείους τόπους*. We have at least two places called by the same name, though it can hardly be said that this is enough to justify the words, which seem to require at least three. It does however explain another expression in Strabo, xii. iii. 23, *πλησίον τῆς Σκήψεως καὶ τοῦ Αἰσήπου Ἐνέαν Κώμην καὶ Ἀργυρίαν (ἀργύρεια?) λέγει καὶ Ἀλαζόνιον*. It is hardly possible that *Ἐνέα Κώμη* can be other than *Νέα Κώμη*, and we see that the Skepsis which it is near is 'Old' Skepsis.

It is unfortunate that Strabo does not mention the one place in the Dale of which the site is indisputably known by an inscription—Argiza. He does name Alazonion, which to all appearance must have stood in the same region. It is quite likely that Argiza may have displaced Alazonion after his day, either by removal to a neighbouring site, or by mere change of name.

[1] Somewhere near the village of Chavush.

II.—THE GREAT PINE.

For an account of the Great Pine (Καλὴ Πεύκη) see *B.S.A.* xviii. 293 ff. Since writing those pages I have found, in a wholly unlikely place, what appears to be a distinct allusion to it, hitherto unnoticed.

In the pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer* occurs the following passage (c. 20; Allen's *Homer*, v. 205):—

ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατέμεινε, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν πορευόμενος καὶ πλανώμενος ἀπίκετο εἰς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ὃ Πίτυς καλέεται. κἀνταῦθα αὐτῶι ἀναπαυομένωι τὴν νύκτα ἐπιπίπτει καρπὸς τῆς πίτυος, ὃν δὴ μετεξέτεροι στρόβιλον, οἱ δὲ κῶνον καλέουσιν. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος φθέγγεται τὰ ἔπεα τάδε·

ἄλλη τίς σου πεύκη ἀμείνονα καρπὸν ἀνήσει
Ἴδης ἐν κορυφῆισι πολυπτύχου ἠνεμοέσσης,
ἔνθα σίδηρος Ἄρηος ἐπιχθονίοισι βροτοῖσιν
ἔσσεται εὖτ' ἄν μιν Κεβρήνιοι ἄνδρες ἔχωσι.

τὰ δὲ Κεβρήνια τοῦτον χρόνον κτίζειν οἱ Κυμαῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τῆι Ἴδηι, καὶ γίνεται αὐτόθι σίδηρος.[1]

This seems to shew beyond question local knowledge and local pride. Kebrene with its mines—for which see hereafter—lay below Ida; and the pride of Ida, as well as one of its famous landmarks, was the Great Pine. The 'place called Pitys' was, as we see from the preceding chapters of the *Life*, near Erythrai. The Troad had a standing quarrel with Erythrai about the Sibyl (xviii. 291), in which no doubt local rivalry was always looking for opportunities. It would seem that Erythrai possessed a famous Pitys (Stone Pine). The Troad counters with its still more famous *πεύκη*, and manages to authorise its claim by getting it put into the mouth of Homer by way of prophecy; and the prophecy is guaranteed by containing a statement about Kebrene which is known to be true. This local origin must be borne in mind in any discussion of the origin of the *Life of Homer*.

III.—THE MINES OF KEBRENE.

Under this head arise two curious problems—one of topography, the other of metallurgy. They must be treated separately, the topography first.

[1] The same anecdote recurs, abbreviated, in the Suidas *Life*; Allen, *ibid.* p. 263. The future *ἀνήσει* in place of *ἴησιν* seems necessary. See Allen's *App. Crit.* on both passages.

Andeira and Pioniai.

Strabo, xiii. i. 56. *μετὰ δὲ Σκῆψιν Ἄνδειρα καὶ Πιονίαι καὶ ἡ Γαργαρίς. ἔστι δὲ λίθος περὶ τὰ Ἄνδειρα ὃς καιόμενος κ. τ. λ.* (see below).

Ibid. 65. *Ἀστύρων δ' ἡ Θήβη διέχει εἰς ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίους, Ἀνδείρων δὲ ἑξήκοντα.*

Ibid. 67. *πρὸς δὲ τοῖς Ἀστύροις λίμνη καλεῖται Σάπρα . . . ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖς Ἀνδείροις ἱερόν ἐστι μητρὸς θεῶν Ἀνδειρηνῆς ἅγιον καὶ ἄντρον ὑπόνομον μέχρι Παλαιᾶς. ἔστι δ' ἡ Παλαιὰ κατοικία τις οὕτω καλουμένη, διέχουσα τῶν Ἀνδείρων ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους. ἔδειξε δὲ τὴν ὑπονομὴν χίμαρος ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ ἀνευρεθεὶς τῇ ὑστεραίαι κατὰ Ἄνδειρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιμένος κατὰ τύχην ἐπὶ θυσίαν ἥκοντος.*

The first passage by itself seems clear enough. As Thacher Clarke has pointed out (*A.J.A.* iv. 317), it clearly follows a road from Skepsis to the territory of Gargara. Though the site of the town of Gargara is disputed, there is no doubt that its territory lay on the southern coast about half way between Assos and Antandros. A road hither from Skepsis would lead past the Deli-tepe and Karaman-tepe[1] east of Kebrene; it would enter the upper basin of the Satnioeis river, now called the plain of Aivajik, and then cross the range of the Dikeli Dagh into the Gargaris. Now there are ancient mines still to be seen on the Deli-tepe and Karaman-tepe; here, then, must have been Andeira. And Clarke has found in the plain of Aivajik remains of an ancient town which will suit perfectly well for Pioniai or Pionia.

The Andeira mentioned in the other two passages is clearly a different place with the same name. The distance of the Karaman-tepe from Edremid is not 60 stades but 200; there cannot here be a question of a missing numeral, for the two are in regions entirely distinct geographically and separated by the whole of the main mass of Ida. No geographer in his senses would define a place between Skepsis and Gargara by its distance from Thebe. There is no difficulty in this; there are at least two, probably three, places called Astyra in the Troad; and there is no reason why there should not be two called Andeira. The data given by Strabo enable us moreover to fix with confidence the site of this second Andeira. It cannot be a mere coincidence that just 60 stades eastwards

[1] The Deli-tepe is marked on the map; the Karaman-tepe is about three miles ESE. of it.

from Edremid, the modern representative of Thebe, there should exist a cave remarkable enough to attract attention of passing travellers. Philippson (*Reisen u. Forsch.* p. 33) following upwards the course of the Freneli Chai, the chief stream of the Plain of Edremid, says 'The valley suddenly becomes a narrow ravine where it breaks through a limestone ridge, which rises on either side to a conical rock, one called Büyük (Great), the other Küchük (Little) Chal. In the northern rock is the opening of a great cave high up; the southern (286 m.) bears an ancient settlement which commands the entrance into the hills, and in which Wiegand recognises the ancient Lyrnessos.' It may be added that the neighbouring village on Philippson's map is named In-önü, 'Cave's Mouth.' Clearly then the ancient settlement is Andeira. Wiegand's identification of it with Lyrnessos is on other grounds, as I have shewn elsewhere (*Troy*, p. 220), untenable, and may now, I hope, be finally dismissed.

So far all is in order. But when we go outside Strabo, we are faced with a curious complication. We have to assume the existence not only of a double Andeira, which is reasonable enough, but of a double Pioniai closely associated with it; and this it must be admitted does rather strain our belief in the powers of coincidence.

Pliny, *H.N.* v. 32, says: 'supra Aeolida et partim Troadis in mediterraneo est quae vocatur Teuthrania . . . ibi Caicus amnis oritur . . . In ea Pfoniae, Andera, Idale . . . Pergamum,' etc. He also mentions Pionia among the towns which belonged to the conventus of Adramyttion. Thus both Andeira and Pioniai lie together not on the west slopes of Ida, but somewhere among the hills east and south-east of the Plain of Thebe.

If this were all, one would be inclined to suppose that Pliny had made one of his many blunders—that, knowing of an associated Andeira and Pioniai on the west of Ida and an Andeira east of Adramyttion, he had transferred Pioniai from the former district to the latter. But this hypothesis is excluded by the first-hand evidence of Pausanias, who guarantees the Pioniai east of Adramyttion. 'I was disposed to believe this story' (about certain miraculous phenomena during sacrifice at Thebes) 'by what I have seen myself; and that is this. In Mysia, beyond the Caicus, is a town Pioniai, the inhabitants of which say that it was founded by Pionis, one of the descendants of Heracles; and when they are about to sacrifice to him a smoke ascends of itself out of the grave. I have seen it happening myself' (ix. 18. 4, Frazer's trans.).

We have therefore a dilemma. Either Strabo has made an error, and knowing of a Pioniai near Andeira in Mysia has transferred it to the other Andeira near Kebrene; or there are really, by an extraordinary coincidence, two pairs of Andeira-Pioniai at a distance of some 30 or 40 miles. I am not quite sure which horn I prefer.

Coins of Pionia are known. They are classed by Head under Pionia Troadis (*H.N.* 548), but the account of the place there given is taken from Pausanias, and refers to the eastern Pionia, which is not in the Troad at all. The name should be Pionia Mysiae, unless there is positive evidence that the coins were found not in Mysia but in the Troad; in which case it will be necessary to drop what Pausanias tells us about the eastern Pionia. Wroth in *B.M.C.* Troas, p. xxxix, confuses the two sites. 'By some numismatists Pionia is described under "Mysia," but its geographical, if not its political, position suggests that it should be classed with the Troad towns.' It is sufficient to say that a town which is distinctly described by Pausanias as in 'Mysia, beyond the Caicus' cannot be brought into any geographical connexion with the Troad. I have no doubt myself that the coins belong to the Pioniai in the east, and am decidedly sceptical about Strabo's Pioniai between Skepsis and Gargaris.

I have only one suggestion to make, and I give it without any confidence. Strabo's Palaia, at the other end of the underground passage which led, as he says, for 130 stades from Andeira, is unknown elsewhere, and does not seem a very likely name. It may be that for Παλαιά we should read Παλαιὰ Πιονία. Then we might go on to conjecture that the inhabitants of the eastern Andeira and "Old Pionia" had migrated together to the district of Kebrene, taking the names with them. This does not seem very probable, however, in face of the fact that it was, at least in Imperial times, the Mysian Pionia which alone was of importance.

It might be worth while for some traveller to explore the cave of In-önü. The underground passage 13 miles long may be more than a mere myth; and some relics might be found of μήτηρ Ἀνδειρηνή, known so far only from two reliefs, one discovered at Kyzikos, the other in the Louvre (see *J.H.S.* xxii. 190; xxv. 60).

Andeira and Metallic Zinc.

We now return to the Andeira near Kebrene, and discuss the remarkable statement of Strabo as to the metallurgical process there carried out:—

xiii. 1. 56. *μετὰ δὲ Σκῆψιν Ἄνδειρα καὶ Πιονίαι καὶ ἡ Γαργαρίς. ἔστι δὲ λίθος περὶ τὰ Ἄνδειρα ὃς καιόμενος σίδηρος γίνεται· εἶτα μετὰ γῆς τινος καμινευθεὶς ἀποστάζει ψευδάργυρον, ἢ*[1] *προσλαβοῦσα χαλκὸν τὸ καλούμενον γίνεται κρᾶμα, ὅ τινες ὀρείχαλκον καλοῦσι· γίνεται δὲ ψευδάργυρος καὶ περὶ τὸν Τμῶλον.*

'About Andeira is found an ore which when roasted becomes iron. Then, when treated in the furnace with a certain earth, it distils mock-silver, and this, by the addition of copper, becomes the so-called alloy, which some name brass. Mock-silver is also found near Tmolos.'

The same passage occurs also in Steph. B. *s.v.* *Ἄνδειρα*, except that the words after *ψευδάργυρον* (*ἢ . . . Τμῶλον*) are abbreviated to *εἶτα κραθεὶς χαλκῶι ὀρείχαλκος γίγνεται.* The words are added *Στράβων ιγ' καὶ Θεόπομπος ιγ'. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀνδειρηνὸς καὶ Ἀνδειρηνή. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν ἐκεῖ.* It appears therefore (1) that Strabo took the passage from Theopompos; (2) that Stephanos took the Andeira near Kebrene to be identical with that near Thebe.

So far as I know, no account of the mines on the Deli-tepe or Karaman-tepe has ever been published. I owe my knowledge of their existence to a note by Mr. Thacher Clarke in *A.J.A.* iv. 317; 'A comparison of the ancient mines of Andeira, described by Strabo, with those still to be seen in this vicinity will be made on a future occasion.' Unfortunately Mr. Clarke has never been able to carry out this intention; he tells me further that he can find no notes on the point, nor can he, after more than thirty years, trust his memory for details. We must therefore be content with the mere fact that there were mines here, adding that, as appears from the lines from the *Life of Homer* already given, one at least of the products of the mines appears to have been iron.

Strabo, however, tells us of another product. Whatever *ὀρείχαλκος* may have meant to Hesiod, Plato, and Aristotle, there is no doubt that in Strabo's days it was brass, the alloy of copper and zinc. This alloy was certainly known during the second century B.C., and was not uncommon in Roman imperial times. It seems, therefore, *prima facie*, that *ψευδάργυρος* must have been metallic zinc. This conclusion, however, is generally rejected. The accounts of the manufacture of brass in Pliny and Dioskorides indicate that it was not the metallic form which was used for the alloy, but a compound, called *καδμία*, *cadmium*—probably the oxide. For a

[1] The use of *ψευδάργυρος* as a feminine seems surprising, but is paralleled by the same gender for *λιθάργυρος* in Dioskorides.

full discussion of the question I must refer to Blümner, *Technologie*, iv. 91 ff. It must suffice here to quote the passage in which he dismisses the apparent mention of metallic zinc in the section now before us.

'ψευδάργυρος here has been explained as zinc. But Hoffmann has remarked, rightly in my opinion, that Strabo plainly has a very vague and confused idea of what he is describing; for it is inconceivable that iron and zinc can have been produced at the same time from ores containing zinc blende together with iron pyrites, haematite, etc., nor can any idea be formed of what the earth can be which, by being fused with the iron ore, produces zinc. Strabo does not write as a specialist; and though it is possible that what in the mines of Andeira was called ψευδάργυρος was an ore containing zinc, it is certain on the one hand that the treatment of it was wholly different, and on the other that there can be no serious question of a production of metallic zinc. For no evidence can be brought from literary sources of any knowledge of the metal among the ancients, nor has any object of zinc dating from antiquity yet been found. As zinc can only be produced by a complicated process of distillation, and the ancients seem to have had no knowledge of such a thing, the assumption that they knew and worked metallic zinc is excluded.'

Dr. Percy, in his *Metallurgy*,[1] had already propounded similar views, though in a more qualified form. After admitting that 'the expression *false-silver* is remarkable,' and that no other metal certainly known in antiquity could have been said to resemble silver and at the same time to 'communicate to copper the properties ascribed to orichalcum,' he goes on to express his doubts about the *prima facie* interpretation of the term as meaning metallic zinc. 'Zinc being very volatile at the temperature at which it is reduced from its ores, the expression "*drops* false-silver" would seem to be quite inapplicable, unless the furnace to which Strabo refers had, like a modern zinc furnace, been provided with a suitable distillatory and condensing apparatus, which is extremely improbable.' So far he agrees with Blümner. He goes on, however, to add: 'Yet that, in the absence of any special apparatus of this kind, the vapour of zinc may be accidentally condensed in cracks in the walls of a furnace and trickle down in drops, is proved by the fact that I have received from my friend, Mr. Parry, of the Ebbw Vale Ironworks, specimens of zinc which have thus condensed and trickled down in drops through cracks near the twyers

[1] Vol. i. (not numbered), 'Fuel . . . Copper, Zinc, Brass, etc.' (1861), pp. 518, 519.

of one of the blast-furnaces, in which a zinciferous ore had been smelted.' Such an accidental occurrence does not, however, save the credit of Strabo, who clearly means to describe a systematic and intentional process.[1]

In asking for a revision of this sentence I speak, as an ignorant layman, with all possible reserve, and mainly in the hope that I may succeed in bringing out the opinion of some competent technologist. For my authority I take the most accessible source, the full but unsigned article 'Zinc' in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Zinc is produced almost exclusively from two ores—blende, the sulphide, and calamine, the carbonate. For our present purpose we may confine ourselves to calamine; firstly because it is much more easily treated than blende, and was therefore the first to be worked; and secondly because it is known to exist in the Troad. Whether it is found at Andeira cannot be said in our present ignorance of the site, but it certainly occurs only a few miles away, just on the other side of Ida; Philippson records that he saw numerous pieces of calamine at the mines near Karaidin in Avunia (*op. cit.* 38: an der Oberfläche liegen Stücke von Galmei (Zinkerz) herum. It is also found at Balia Maden, *ibid.* p. 36).

The process of making metallic zinc from calamine appears to involve two stages. First the ore is roasted or calcined. By this process the carbonate is converted into the oxide of zinc. The oxide is then mingled with carbon in one form or another in a crucible, and the metallic zinc distilled.

Now it must, I think, be admitted that the process described by Strabo agrees with this too remarkably to be ascribed merely to the chance coincidence of a wholly ignorant description. The two stages are quite clearly set out; first the roasting (*καιόμενος*) and then the distillation in a crucible (*καμινευθεὶς ἀποστάζει*). And the word *ψευδάργυρος* itself distinctly means a metallic substance. Zinc oxide, the familiar pigment "zinc white," could not possibly be called Mock Silver: it has no resemblance to silver. But the name would almost inevitably be applied to a white metal produced from ores associated, as at Karaidin, with those from which silver was actually obtained.

If Strabo had said only this, there would, I imagine, have been no doubt that he was describing accurately the production of metallic zinc.

[1] I owe this reference, together with other valuable criticism and information, to Professor Huntington, of King's College, London.

Doubts are founded mainly on two points; first, he says that the ore by roasting 'became iron'; secondly, it is asserted that there is no 'earth' which could be used for the distillation.

In a non-technical account such as this we must remember that there are two sources of possible error. We have to bear in mind not only the ignorance of the non-technical observer, but the tendency on the part of the expert to keep his mystery secret from the outsider. When Strabo, or rather Theopompos, says that the ore 'became iron' it is quite possible that he may have been told so by those engaged in the industry. They may even have said so in good faith. Zinc ores are always associated with some form of iron; and it is, I suppose, possible that in the roasting process some iron oxide may have been produced which would form a sufficient ground for imagining that the ore had been at least partially converted into iron. Thus, though the statement is certainly untrue, the error is not of a nature to throw doubt on the whole account.

As for the earth, I have a suggestion to make. It is carbon—either charcoal or powdered coal—which is needed for the distillation in the crucible. May not this purpose have been served by lignite? This form of coal is found on the surface at several places in the Troad and neighbourhood: it is still worked at Balia Maden, and we saw stacks of it on the shore at Ak Chai, the port of Edremid, for supply to coasting steamers, That it was used in antiquity as a fuel for metallurgy we know from Theophrastos, *de lapid.* 16: *οὓς δὲ καλοῦσιν εὐθὺς ἄνθρακας τῶν ὀρυττομένων διὰ τὴν χρείαν εἰσι γεώδεις, ἐκκαίονται δὲ καὶ πυροῦνται καθάπερ οἱ ἄνθρακες. εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ τὴν Λιγυστικὴν ὅπου καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἠλείαι βαδιζόντων Ὀλυμπίαζε τὴν δι' ὄρους, οἷς καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς χρῶνται.* (See Blümner, iv. 215.)

Blümner further objects that the distillation is a complicated process, and that there is no reason to suppose that it was within the knowledge of the ancients. This is obviously a bold statement in the face of Strabo's words, which distinctly assert distillation (*ἀποστάζει*). And the old process of distillation in England, now superseded, is described as follows in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: 'The bottom of a crucible is perforated by a pipe which projects into the crucible to about two-thirds of its height. The mixture of ore and charcoal is put into the crucible around the pipe, the crucible closed by a luted-on lid, and placed in a furnace constructed so as to permit of the lower end of the pipe projecting into the ash-pit.

The zinc vapour produced descends through the pipe and condenses into liquid zinc, which is collected in a ladle held under the outlet end of the pipe.' To me, as a layman, I confess that this process seems comparatively simple, and well within the powers of ancient metallurgy.

Professor J. Norman Collie, of University College, London, has kindly sent me some valuable notes, which I am grateful to him for allowing me to print by way of postscript. It will be seen that they have an important bearing on the main difficulty in the passage of Strabo—the supposed ignorance of the process of distillation among the ancients.

'I have come to the conclusion that it is not at all improbable that *ψευδάργυρος* is zinc. Pliny has a great deal to say about *καδμία*, which is without doubt oxide of zinc. Therefore zinc was certainly present in the ores that were smelted in those days; also they made brass from cadmia, by smelting it with copper and carbon.

'We have no evidence that the Greeks or the ancients understood the process of distillation, although they must have used it in the preparation of mercury, when the condensed mercury dripped down from the top of the crucible. Would not the translation "dripped down" be the correct one for *ἀποστάζει*?

'The oldest mention of distillation I can find is in an old Syriac MS. (British Museum): it is a copy made in the sixteenth century from an original text belonging to the period of the Abbasid Caliphs (Bagdad, eighth century). Now all this information in the Syriac MS. is a direct inheritance from the priestly workers of a much earlier date in Egypt; and in the MS. they certainly knew all about distillation. There are a whole series of illustrations showing how it can be done. There is an apparatus for distillation "per descensum." (I omit the illustration; the process "per descensum" is that described above.—W. L.) If a mercury ore were heated in the top compartment the mercury would "drip down" into the lower vessel, and if oxide of zinc with carbon or coal were treated in the same way, zinc would "drip down" also. Therefore, if they knew as much in the eighth century, it is highly probable that these processes had been common knowledge for possibly centuries.'[1]

It may be added that the process described by Pliny, in which brass is

[1] It would seem, however, that the process of distillation was known to the Greeks as early as the fifth century, when it is described by Zosimos, who compiles probably from earlier sources. Into this question I cannot here enter more fully.—W. L.

made directly by heating the oxide in contact with copper and carbon, so that the distillation and combination of zinc vapour with copper go on simultaneously, has in fact been practised up till the middle of the last century (Percy, *ibid.* p. 612 ff.). Modern methods have proved it to be less economical than the production of metallic zinc to be separately alloyed with copper, and the demand for what is called 'calamine brass' has vanished. It is, however, quite possible that the reverse process may have taken place in ancient times—that the endeavour to produce silver from ores found at the silver mines resulted first in the discovery of zinc, and consequently of brass. It may have been only subsequently found that the brass could be produced without the separate distillation of the zinc; and the saving of this step may have caused the shorter process to displace the older between the days of Theopompos and Pliny. If no use, other than the manufacture of brass, was found for zinc, we can clearly see why it is that no articles of zinc are found in antiquity, and why neither Pliny nor Dioskorides makes any mention of the manufacture of it.

It must also be mentioned that Ingalls, *Production and Properties of Zinc*, p. 1, says that bracelets of metallic zinc have been found at 'Cameros' in Rhodes, dating from before 500 B.C. He refers, as his authority, to Raoul Jagneaux, *Traité de Chimie générale* (1887), ii. 385. I have unfortunately been unable to verify this reference; if the statement is correct, of course it finally settles the question.

IV.—THE SITE OF HAMAXITOS.

In *Troy, a Study of Homeric Geography*, p. 205, I accepted without question the usual location of Hamaxitos at Ak Liman, about three miles north of Lekton (Cape Baba). Here again further consideration has convinced me that I was wrong, and that Hamaxitos lay at the modern Baba Kalessi, the little village and port just round the corner of Cape Baba, looking south-west instead of west.

As Strabo gives no exact measurements, either place sufficiently fulfils the general conditions extracted from the rare mentions of the place in literature. Into these I need not enter further; my opinion has been altered by two considerations. Firstly, Ak Liman is not a good place for a harbour, while there must have always been one at Baba Kalessi; secondly, there appear to be no traces of ancient remains at Ak Liman,

but there are at Baba Kalessi. There was certainly an ancient port there, and therefore a town; and no other name is known for it than Hamaxitos.

The little bay at Ak Liman is pretty; but it is too shallow for anything but fishing-boats; and though it is fairly sheltered from the east and north it is entirely open to the south-west. If there had ever been a mole there, the remains would almost certainly be visible through the clear and shallow water on the white bottom which gives it the name of White Harbour. We saw no traces of buildings or remains of any sort on the shore, nor does there seem to be any record of such a discovery by others.

At Baba Kalessi, however, the conditions of the coasting trade make a harbour essential. The rounding of the actual point of Lekton is a standing difficulty to all sailing ships. They must have a port at which they can shelter when coming from the south, in order to await the moments, rare at certain seasons, when they can slip out and round the promontory during a favourable breeze. Even at the present day there is enough kaik traffic to keep the little port alive; when all ships depended on sails, it must have been indispensable.

The harbour is perfectly protected by nature from the north-east by the high hill of Lekton, which rises straight above it. But to the south and south-west it is exposed. Hence in ancient times—not more nearly to be determined—a massive mole was built out of huge stones of the andesite of the neighbouring hills. The upper part of the mole has long succumbed, but the length of it still stands above the water, and the blocks of which it is formed seem solid and heavy enough to withstand any sea. The space enclosed is, however, too large for the needs of the small boats which now resort to it; and instead of keeping it in repair, the Turks have built a smaller interior mole along which the kaiks can lie in safety. There could be no more striking evidence of its much greater importance in by-gone days.

There are, so far as we could ascertain, no other remains of antiquity in the place; but it is not certain that any systematic search has been made. In any case little could be expected from a small Greek town the site of which has been continuously inhabited for centuries.

It is true that Bürchner in Pauly-Wissowa says that a Doric temple has been found near the place. I fear, however, that he is relying on Texier, a very broken reed. Texier says (*Asie Mineure*, p. 191) 'Le temple d'Apollon Smynthien était d'ordre Dorique; les ruines de ce

monument furent découvertes, il y a quelques années, non loin du village de Baba.' It is perfectly clear that he is speaking here of the temple found by Spratt at the Sminthion near Kulakli, some four miles away. As we know, Texier possessed 'le génie de l'inexactitude,' and it is merely a characteristic instance of his methods that he should call that temple (of the existence of which Bürchner seems, by the way, to be wholly ignorant) Doric, when it is in fact Ionic, and that he should locate it by Baba instead of by Kulakli, which is much nearer.

The steep and high hills which protect the port on the north form a considerable obstacle to the necessary communication with the interior. But the steep west face of Cape Baba allows of the formation of a road—a mere ledge overhanging the sea. While the road from Kulakli to Ak Liman is a narrow path through thorny scrub, just wide enough to enable the peasants to reach the outlying fields, the inhabitants of Kulakli speak proudly of the 'sosé' (chaussée) which leads to Baba Kalessi. The narrow mule path is in fact roughly paved with irregular stones worn to an almost icy slipperiness by the pretty active traffic which we found passing in both directions. No doubt in ancient days the ledge was cut and kept wide enough for wheeled traffic,—there is no reason why it should not be—and the inhabitants named their town Hamaxitos, 'the chaussée,' in honour of what may have been, for local engineers, a quite creditable piece of work.

WALTER LEAF.

NOTES ON SELJOUK BUILDINGS AT KONIA.

(Plates VI–XI.)

The following notes do not pretend to be an exhaustive study of the Seljouk monuments of Konia, which have already been fully described by Huart, Sarre, and Saladin, to whose works constant reference is made in these pages. Only three out of the five important Seljouk buildings at Konia are here dealt with, and only such points in connection with these are taken up as have been passed over or inadequately handled by the authors referred to. The Sirtcheli and the Kara Tai Medressehs are not included in this study, as in their case there appeared to be nothing fresh to add to former discussion.

I.

The Mosque of Sultan Alaeddin.[1]

The Alaeddin Mosque, sometimes called the Great Mosque, crowns the north-western summit of the Acropolis hill of Konia, which was once the Seljouk citadel surrounded by a wall with towers. Walls and towers are level with the dust, and from the hill top civilisation has ebbed, leaving a few forlorn places of worship clinging like castaways to its desolate crest. They stand apart from each other, the Christian churches and the Mohamedan mosque, each isolated amid open spaces of rubble and dust, maintaining, with a certain air of mutual distrust, their rival claims to the ancient stronghold of the town, in reality less in danger from each other than from the common enemies, neglect and decay. The mosque enclosure

[1] Saladin, *L'Art Musulman*, i. p. 443; Huart, *Konieh*, p. 133; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 147; *id. Persische Denkmäler*, p. 47.

presents on three sides a featureless extent of wall; on the north side is the magnificent stone façade, visible from afar on all the northern plains, and above it rise the conical roof of the turbeh and the tall stone minaret, which is of a date long posterior to the erection of the mosque (Pl. VI. 2).

The façade (Pl. VI. 1) of the enclosure is the most remarkable Seljouk monument at Konia, and excepting the battered relic of the palace kiosk, the oldest extant. For all its structural incoherence, the general effect is not discordant, and the solidity and excellence of the workmanship lend it no inconsiderable dignity and charm. The material is hard yellow-brown limestone blocks, dry jointed, finely cut and squared. The beautiful surface thus obtained is broken by certain curious features. At the extreme right (west), a slight salient contains an arched gateway, the only entrance now in use, in which a smaller arch, recessed, contains the door itself. Over this inner arch is a faïence cartouche, with the name of Sultan Alaeddin Kai Kobad I.[1] The remainder of the wall is surmounted by a row of round-arched,[2] open niches carried on double pilaster-columns, and this arcaded upper register is interrupted by the great marble portal (Pl. VII. 1), whose archivolt is crowned with interlaced mouldings reaching to the summit of the façade. Over this door is the great building-inscription assigning the completion of the work to Sultan Alaeddin in the year 617 (1220–21),[3] and to the right of it, framed in similar mouldings, another inscription names the same Sultan as builder of both mosque and mausoleum.[4] Sultan Alaeddin[5] is again named in an inscription on marble blocks inset within the heavily-profiled star to the extreme left of the façade (Pl. VIII. 1), and his Syrian craftsman, Muhammad ben Khaulan of Damascus, on a stone near it.[6] Left of the portal is a window niche (Pl. VIII. 1) of limestone like the wall, with zig-zagged archivolt mouldings, which terminate in volutes at the spring of the arch. Within this niche Alaeddin's predecessor, Izzeddin Kai Kaous I. is named as author of the building in the year 616 [1219–20].[7]

The significance of these various features merits some enquiry. In the first place two materials are employed, yellow limestone for the main

[1] Huart, *op. cit.* p. 141, No. 28.
[2] Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 141 erroneously terms them 'spitzbogige.'
[3] Von Oppenheim, *Arabische Inschriften*, No. 174 (van Berchem); Huart, *op. cit.* No. 26.
[4] Huart, *Rev. Sem.* 1896, No. 28. [5] *Id.* No. 23. [6] *Id.* No. 24. [7] *Id.* No. 28.

structure, marble, cream-coloured and grey, for the great portal in the centre, for the inscription and its framing to the right, and for that within the octagonal star to the left. In addition, it is noticeable that all the marble features have been let into the surface of the wall subsequent to erection, for especially round the marble portal, the wall shows signs of having been roughly cut away, while in each case the marble blocks are without elation to the courses of the wall. The remainder of the wall is homogeneous in workmanship and material, and we can guess that, roughly speaking, the façade as it stands to-day shows two main periods of construction. What those periods were we need not merely guess. The three marble portions of the wall all carry inscriptions bearing the name of Sultan Alaeddin Kai Kobad I., while the remaining inscription, that to the left of the door, in limestone and homogeneous with the wall, bears the name of Alaeddin's predecessor Izz-eddounya-weddin Kai Kaous I.

If we eliminate Alaeddin's marble members, the remaining construction, that of Kai Kaous I., is the great limestone wall, with the door in the salient to the east, the row of open niches along the top, the buttresses, and what the buttresses suggest, a doorway between them, the predecessor of Alaeddin's marble portal, with the niche and inscription to the left. Of this combination of features the most curious are the niches at the top; they are not uniform in height, but show three sizes, while the heights are arranged not symmetrically but rising towards the right. Their origin, however, has long been understood: the arches, and their double pilaster supports, are fragments of a local Christian church, where they formed perhaps the upper register of three separate aisles.[1] Both their origin and the manner in which they have been utilised on this façade form such a striking analogy to the façades of the great Inalid mosque at Amida[2] that they were used by Strzygowski as a basis of comparison by which to discover the typically Seljóuk elements of the Inalid façades. A third parallel, the Ibn Touloun Mosque at Cairo, is here cited as a plain wall surface with a niched upper storey.

In this group, in spite of profound resemblances, certain divergences must not be overlooked, which help towards a true understanding of the

[1] Sarre, *op. cit.* p, 48; Huart, *Konieh*, p. 134; Saladin, *op. cit.* i. p. 444; Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 144.

[2] *Amida*, Pls. IX.–XI., XIV.–XV.

real relationship between the three. The earliest member of the group is the Ibn Touloun façade, built about 876–9 A.D. The materials, unlike the Seljouk work, are brick and stucco, while the arches are pointed instead of round. The wall surface, save for the niches, is without decoration. The Amida façades, on the contrary, are of stone, heavily encrusted with architectural members, in which the window openings are framed after the fashion of Hellenistic, East Roman and Christian work. The fact is that façades decorated with tiers of niches are part of the aboriginal tradition of Southern Mesopotamia, where brick covered with stucco,—the native materials,—required some scheme of decoration on a large scale, to give light and shade to the monotonous and glaring wall surface. This scheme of decoration passed into Hellenistic and Roman work, where it was applied to stone surfaces and received further development in the shape of elaborate architectural framework. In Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, on the other hand, the possession of stone as the normal building material and the survival of classic traditions of masonry together restrained the tendency to surface elaboration. Plain wall surfaces of dressed stone were rooted in local taste and practice, and the influence of the niched façade from further south achieved little more than the row of arches beneath the roof, which became a feature of Romanesque style.[1]

The Seljouk façades can now be understood. That of the Ibn Touloun Mosque at Cairo, built for a prince of Turkish stock from Southern Mesopotamia, shows both the materials and the pointed arch peculiar to that locality, and immediately recalls the niched façades of Samarra and Raqqah. It shows also, however, a certain restraint in confining the niches to the upper register, which must be due to contact with the severer stone models of North Mesopotamia and Syria. The Amida façades, owing to their heavy load of Christian architectural fragments, do not show very obviously their relation to the Seljouk group; a better parallel is seen on the inner side of the Kharput gate in the walls of Amida,[2] which is a half-way stage between a purely Syrian conception such as the Golden Gate at Spalato, and the Konia façade. The Syrian design is carried out in the Kharput gate in the coarser material, heavier proportions and cruder technique of North Mesopotamia, and the result is

[1] Bell, *Ukhaidir*, p. 126; Strzygowski, *op. cit.* p. 143; De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, *passim*.
[2] *Amida*, Fig. 239, Fig. 233.

a prototype of the Konia façade in its earlier period, that is, before the addition of Alaeddin's marble members. A fifth monument can now be added to the series, also due to princes of Seljouk stock. This is the mosque at Mayarfarquin near Amida, built by the Ortokid Alpi between A.D. 1152 and 1176.[1] Like the Inalid and Seljouk façades it is of stone, with a row of arched niches in the upper storey, but the arches are pointed like those of the Ibn Touloun façade.

Alaeddin's marble portal (Pls. VI. 1, VII. 1) is now built up, and the threshold is so unscathed that it is hard to believe that it was ever used, or only on rare occasions. Steps must have mounted to reach it (for the level of the ground within is about ten feet higher than without), but of these no trace remains. Apart from its great beauty, its most important feature is the inscription in the tympanum above the lintel, giving with the usual eulogies, the name of Sultan Alaeddin, and the date, 1220–21.[2] Regarding the remainder of the work, there is nothing to add to previous discussion; its characteristics explain themselves at first sight. The Syrian tradition to which it is due must be considered as that combination of classic marble technique and oriental interlacing patterns which was first evolved by the Christian builders and carvers of Syria,[3] taken over and elaborated by the Seljouk and Ayyoubid conquerors of Syria, traces of whose work survive at Jerusalem, Damascus, and in particular, in the gate of the great mosque at Aleppo. From thence, by the importation of Syrian artists, it passed into the Seljouk empire of Roum; a Damascene master, Muhammad ben Khaulan el Dimachki, is actually quoted in an inscription on the Konia façade as author of the work.

Behind the façade the ground rises in a steep uneven gradient, but the mosque is no longer approached from this side; the doorway now in use is that in the east wall, restored by Abdul Hamid, which gives entrance to the eastern lateral hall of the mosque (Pl. VII. 2). In this and the western hall, the only remarkable features are the columns, upon which rest the large pointed arches that support the roof. All of these are monolithic, pre-islamic in origin. In the east hall nearly all are Roman, of grey-black lava, with exaggerated entasis; most of these have Roman-doric capitals, but there are fragments of acanthus capitals, and one fine Corinthian

[1] Bell, *op. cit.* Pl. 84, Fig. 3.
[2] Huart, *Rev. Sém.* 1896, No. 26; von Oppenheim, *op. cit.* No. 174 (van Berchem).
[3] *E.g.* Figs. 1 and 2, stone slabs built into the external wall of S. Mark's, Venice.

FIGS. 1, 2.—CARVED STONE SLABS OF SYRIAN WORKMANSHIP AND DESIGN.

capital, of Syrian workmanship, deeply cut with the drill. These are almost[1] the only Roman columns in use in Konia at the present time, for it is remarkable to what an extent all remains of Iconium and of the Colonia Aelia Hadriana have vanished from sight. In addition, there are eight double pilaster-columns with panelled sides, of the same material; many more exist in the neighbourhood of Konia.[2] They are Christian in origin, like the pilaster-columns of the façade, common in Asia Minor, also used in Syria, for instance in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.[3] Two of those in the western hall of the mosque are composed of the upper halves of these columns placed one on the other, and two are outside the door leading from the east hall to the graveyard. These must have been rejected at a recent restoration, possibly that of Abdul Hamid, otherwise there would have been no need to combine fragments to form a single shaft, as in the western hall. Conceivably they stood at either side of the east door, as in the arched entrance to the right (west) of the façade.

The five knotted columns (Pl. VII. 2) in the east hall present a curious detail which merits, and would repay, an independent enquiry. They are, of course, Christian in origin, and belong in no sense to Seljouk art. A couple of similar columns flank the doorway of the turbeh of the Big Mosque at Magnesia on the Hermos. The form of the knot is a 'slip,' and the conception, in any case, is scarcely suitable for a rigid body, such as a column, which has to resist heavy vertical pressure.

Students of Seljouk art have usually dismissed these columns as 'Byzantine or Armenian.' In no extant work of Armenian architecture, however, does this form appear, and in the Byzantine world it is infrequent, occurring most commonly in miniature works of art representing architecture, such as the arcading on the north façade of St. Mark's at Venice, the arcading of a closure slab at the Monastery of Vatopedi, Mount Athos,[4] a steatite relief from Thespiae,[5] a steatite icon from Mount Athos,[6] and a silver casket with Christ and the four Martyrs of Trebizond, of the tenth

[1] There are some more Roman column shafts in the Armenian church on the hill. I could not go into the Greek church owing to the closing of all churches by the Patriarch in June, 1914.

[2] One with an acanthus capital, near the tomb of Sadreddin; other fragments in the tekkeh of 'Tadji Vizir,' in the garden by the 'Kalendah Baba' turbeh, and in the cemetery.

[3] Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, Fig. 165.

[4] Sarre, *Pers. Denk.* p. 131; Saladin, *op. cit.* i. p. 449, No. 1.

[5] Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, iii. p. 569 (XI.–XII. century).

[6] *Ibid.* ii. p. 273 (XI.–XII. century).

century.[1] None of these are older than the tenth century, and earlier examples of the form do not appear to be recorded. The only art in which it is at all frequent in real architecture is Italian Romanesque, in works of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, such as the cathedral at Ferrara, the cathedral at Trento, the Broletto at Como,[2] and in the well known cloisters of San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome. Most frequently of all, the knotted column appears in Byzantine, Armenian and Southern Slavonic miniature painting from about the tenth century, in company with a profusion of other knotted and plaited forms, achieving great popularity in the eleventh and subsequent centuries.

The probability is that the form originated in the lesser arts of painting, metal work and relief sculpture in the eastern Christian world, in which representations of architecture are always more fantastic than any contemporary local buildings. Here, with characteristic contempt for differences of material and scale, Christian architects first applied the form to real architecture, and hence it passed to Italy, where it found favour with architects of Italian Romanesque style. Whence the miniature painters and other artists obtained the knot column in the first instance is not easy to say. Possibly it is related to the forms of capital letters, marginal motives, etc., in Armenian manuscripts, in which a double shaft, bound by a knot of some description, is frequent enough (Fig. 6). These figures in the Armenian manuscripts have been connected with the knot in the form of the figure eight, binding a pair of column shafts, which was the symbol of the union of Upper and Lower Egypt.[3] Coptic influence may well have brought this figure into the Christian manuscripts in the eastern Christian world, where the knot, under the influence of the oriental knotted, twisted, and plaited patterns of the class known as 'unendliche Müster' may have acquired the interlocking 'slip knot' form.

The dome of the central portion of the mosque is carried on three wide, pointed arches resting on solid piers, and on the southern (the Kibleh) wall. The inner surface of the dome is whitewashed, though once, no doubt, it was lined with faïence. The adjustment to the square plan is carried out by means of polyhedric pendentives, the most curious archi-

[1] Schlumberger, *op. cit.* i. p. 669 (XI.–XII. century).

[2] My attention was kindly drawn to these examples by Mr. W. Grant Keith, of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

[3] Strzygowski, *Kleinarmenische Miniaturenmalerei, Tubingen veroffentl.* i. pp. 32, 33.

tectural feature of Konia.[1] These retain their faïence decoration, geometric interlacing patterns based on the names of the first four Khalifs, in turquoise and cobalt blue mosaic.[2]

By far the most important object preserved in the mosque is the splendid ebony minbar, profusely carved with arabesques, and with projecting bosses worked *à jour*. It bears the names of Sultans Masoud I. and Kilidj Arslan II.[3] and is signed by the 'Meccan master pilgrim of Akhlat, in the month Redyeb, in the year 550' (Sept. 1155).[4] It is remarkable, and characteristic of the Mahomedan world, that an Armenian Moslem should sign himself 'the Meccan master' on a work of purely Arab style, and an interesting proof of the powerful influence the pilgrimages to Mecca exercised over local taste and style.

The ground plan (Fig. 3) of the mosque is not merely unorthodox, but shows a quite remarkable irregularity. In the plan the normal arrangement of an unroofed *sahn*, or court, having a roofed *riwaq* on the southern or Kibleh side,[5] seems to be preserved. In reality what looks like a *sahn*, the space between the façade and the mosque, must always have been a rough steep slope of uneven gradient, and the turbeh and its masjid are a complete barrier between this open space and the mosque. That this space exists at all must be due to the normal inclusion of the *sahn* in the traditional ground plan, but it could scarcely have been used as such at any time.

The purpose of a *sahn* must have been fulfilled by another portion of the building, whose peculiarities are thus explained. This is the large columned eastern hall. In spite of the restorations to which it has undoubtedly been subject, I agree with Sarre[6] in supposing it to be less old than the rest of the building, and in its present form at least, it is an afterthought to the general plan. Its trapeze-shaped ground-plan is conditioned by the nature of the ground on this side of the enclosure, the whole of which, including the terraced-up graveyard with its retaining wall east of the façade, is obviously an addition to the original plan. In other respects the eastern hall is of the normal Syro-Egyptian type of mosque,[7] such as

[1] See below, p. 56 and Fig. 7.
[2] Sarre, *Pers. Denk.* p. 122, Fig. 149.
[3] Von Oppenheim, *Inschriften a. Syrien u. Nord Mes.*, Nos. 178, 179 (van Berchem).
[4] Huart, *Rev. Sem.* 1896, No. 32.
[5] Bell, *Ukhaidir*, ch. vi.; Sarre-Herzfield, *Reise in Euphrat- u. Tigris- Gebiete*, p. 97.
[6] Sarre, *Pers. Denk.* p. 121.
[7] Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 98–99.

the Mosque of Amrou at Fostat, the mosque at Baalbek, those of Zaitimah and Qairawan in the Moghreb.[1] In all these and in many others a flat roof is borne by pointed arches on monolithic stone columns, mostly of pre-Islamic origin. The Konia mosque is especially related to Syria by the direction of its arcades, which run, as at Baalbek and Damascus, parallel to the Kibleh wall.[2] The skill with which the colonnades are related to the irregular plan is worth noticing: the intercolumniations and the spaces between the rows of arches are gradually contracted towards the

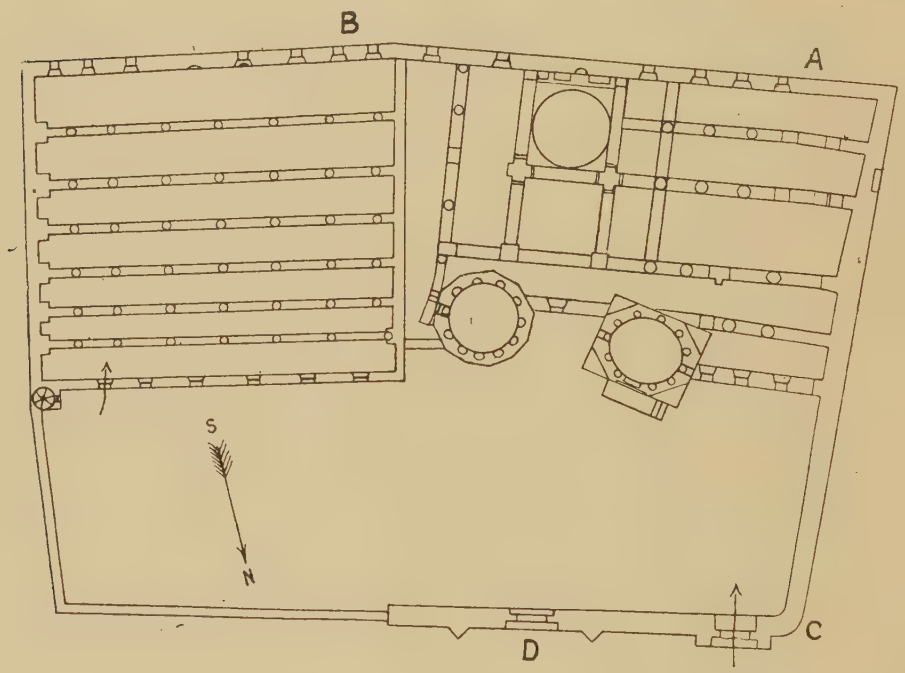


FIG. 3.—GROUND-PLAN OF THE MOSQUE OF ALAEDDIN.
(After Sarre, *Persische Denkmäler*, Fig. 166.)

north, so that, within the mosque, the lack of parallelism is scarcely noticeable, while the windows of the north and south walls, falling opposite

[1] Saladin, *op. cit.* i. pp. 215–18, Figs. 137–8.

[2] Outside Syria, at Fostat, in the Moghreb etc., the arches are at right angles to the Kibleh wall. The Great Mosque at Amida probably adds a fourth to the Syrian group, for though in the case of arches resting on piers, it is usual for them to run parallel, yet Nasiri Khosro, describing the mosque in 1046, says the arches rested on columns, *Amida*, p. 311.

each other in the axes of the intercolumniations, send long avenues of light through the arched aisles.

Symmetry and perfect regularity are over much to exact from even the most handsome and most homogeneous of mediaeval Mahomedan buildings, but the irregularities of the plan before us are too marked not to be suggestive. If the eastern hall be ignored, and the abortive east wing, which it interrupts and effaces, be completed towards B (Fig. 3) to match in extent the western wing as far as A, then A, B, C form two sides of an approximate rectangle, which, completed to include the façade as its third side, makes an almost symmetrical plan with D, the marble portal, in the centre of the façade, and practically in the axis of the mihrab. It is an objection to this supposition that the western slanting wall of the mosque and enclosure, which seems homogeneous with the façade, and the part of the mosque immediately within this wall, are thus unaccounted for; something more than irregularities in the site are needed to explain them, for at this end of the western hall the arches rest on piers instead of on monolithic double pilaster-columns. But in our present state of knowledge of the history of the mosque, and in face of the numerous restorations[1] that have independently taken place, and of which there is no record but in the disposition and materials of the building itself, we cannot hope to do more than guess at the original plan.

The fact remains that we have, as the oldest part of the mosque, the domed central structure, with its western and part of its eastern wing, and that this oldest part is more or less in relation to the façade. Looking at the plan of this oldest part, we have before us an unrecognised, but indubitable member of a class of mosques of peculiar ground-plan, and of rare occurrence. The group was first distinguished by Strzygowski[2] in his attempt to co-ordinate the peculiar arrangement of the Great Mosque of Dyarbekr with existing structures; its broad central aisle was covered by a high-pitched roof which he supposes to have been gabled, and of wood. The great and distinguishing member of the group is the Umayyad mosque at Damascus[3] (Fig. 4) with its two long wings, divided into three aisles, along the Kibleh wall, and the domed central portion in front of the mihrab. The other two members of this group are the

[1] One restoration, the most recent, was in progress at the time of Huart's visit in 1896.
[2] *Amida*, p. 316.
[3] Spiers, *J.R.I.B.A.* Series 3, vol. 4, pp. 16 *seqq.*

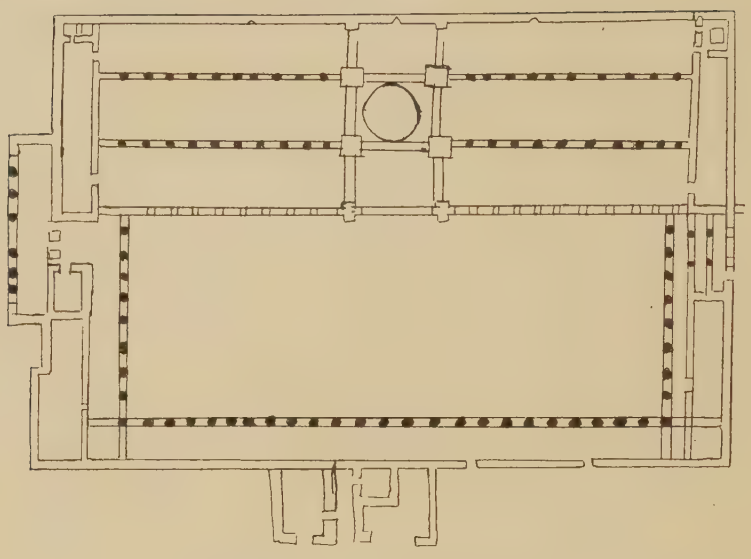


FIG. 4.—GROUND-PLAN OF THE UMMAYAD MOSQUE, DAMASCUS.
(After Spiers, *J.R.I.B.A.* p. 26, Fig. 2.)

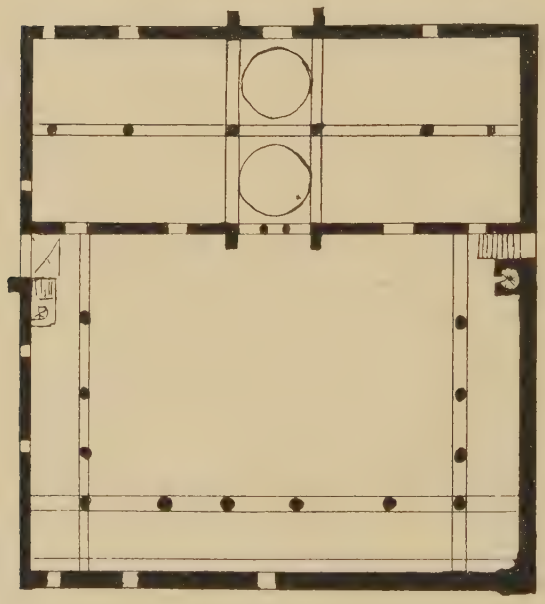


FIG. 5.—GROUND-PLAN OF THE MOSQUE AT AYASOLUK (Ephesus).
(After Strzygowski, *Amida*, Fig. 264.)

mosque at Harran,[1] and that of Ayasoluk (Ephesus, Fig. 5). To these must be added one more: the so-called Mosque of Saladin at Mayarfarquin, not far from Dyarbekr,[2] whose domed chamber, built, according to its inscription, by the Ortokid Alpi (1152–1176), is surrounded only by a corridor of the same date. The two wings are dated by Miss Bell as no earlier than 1226–1228; but even if no earlier structures preceded them, their architect certainly derived his inspiration in adding them from such buildings as the Umayyad mosque. In it, as in all others of the group, the arcades ran parallel to the Kibleh wall.

The assumption that all mosques showing east and west arcaded halls with a broad central aisle roofed with a dome, are derived from the Ummayad mosque at Damascus, cannot but be accepted.[3] For centuries it was one of the holiest of Mahomedan sanctuaries, and its architectural reputation was world-wide. Strzygowski[4] admits its influence on the mosque at Amida, and it is undoubtedly the direct originator of the whole group, of which, in spite of its numerous restorations, from the time of the Khalif Walid onwards, it is certainly the earliest specimen. Whence the plan, when first applied to Damascus, originally derived, is less certain. That it is to some extent due to the Church of St. John that preceded it on the same site has been generally accepted,[5] but Strzygowski's corollary, that the domed portion is derived from the Martyrium of John, and that the side walls are 'radial expansions' from the centre, misses the significance of the plan. The side halls are not secondary, but primary elements, composing the *riwaq* of the Kibleh wall, and the domed central aisle is secondary, an interruption in the original scheme. The tendency to emphasise, by widening, the aisle in front of the mihrab, is inherent in the aboriginal ground plan of the mosque. The use of piers and arches, which obstructed from the worshippers the view of the officiating Halib,[6] necessitated a widening of the central portion[7] where greater numbers of

[1] *Amida*, pp. 322, 330, Figs. 269, 270, 222.

[2] Bell, *Ukhaidir*, p. 159–60, Pl. 19.

[3] Sarre-Herzfeld, *Reise*, pp. 98, 99.

[4] *Amida*, p. 316.

[5] Sarre and Herzfeld, p. 98; Spiers and Dickie, *J.R.I.B.A.* Series 3, vol. 4, pp. 16 *sqq.*; Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 329, who derives it from the Byzantine Emperors' palace on the Bosphorus (Procopius, i. 10).

[6] Sarre-Herzfeld, *Reise*, p. 100.

[7] Mosques of Mesopotamian type with this widening, and with piers instead of columns, are: Ibn Touloun, Cairo; Muttawakil, Samarra, Bell, *Ukhaidir*, p. 156; Abou Dolaf, Samarra, *ibid.* Fig. 33.

persons might stand; and in columned mosques also, this tendency appears.[1] Originally no difference was made in the roofing of this part, though in many cases destruction has effaced all traces of the roof; but contact with Christian buildings soon gave rise to more ambitious schemes. At Amida, the central part probably had a high-pitched wooden roof[2]; at Damascus and in the buildings which were derived from it, the martyrium that originally occupied the same site inspired the central dome.[3] This final arrangement, which as Strzygowski suggests, recalls certain Persian dispositions,[4] for that reason may well have been favoured by the Khalif Walid.

An interesting point is the manner in which turbeh and masjid cut into the ground plan of the mosque. The obvious conclusion is that they are of earlier date, but on the contrary, the inscription on the façade includes the mausoleum in the constructions of Alaeddin Kai Kobad I. We are faced then with the question whether Alaeddin's inscription does or does not speak the truth. If it does, in order to account for the awkward interruption of turbeh and masjid in the ground plan, we are compelled to conclude that Alaeddin was rebuilding a mausoleum that had already existed on the same site. On other grounds there is evidence that an earlier mausoleum existed. In the first place, the present building contains the bodies of Alaeddin's predecessors, going back to Masoud I., who died in 1156; and some sort of edifice must be supposed to have covered their bones during the half century after his death. Further evidence is supplied by Ibn Bibi, in his account of the death of Kai Khosro I. Khosro was slain in battle at Alashehir (Philadelphia) against the Greeks in 1210. The Emperor Lascaris, overcome with grief at the death of the chivalrous Moslem who in that very day's battle had spared his own life, carried his body to be embalmed and deposited temporarily at Alashehir. Later it was escorted in state from this resting-place to the Seljouk frontier and received there by the Turks, who placed it at Konia in the same mausoleum with the bones of his predecessors, named by Ibn Bibi as Kai Kaous I., his brother Suleiman II., his father Kilidj

[1] Mosques of Syro-Egyptian type, with columns, showing the central widening are: El Aksa, Jerusalem, Bell, *op. cit.* p. 152; Baalbek, *Amida*, Fig. 27; the Tunis mosques, Qairawan, Zaitimah, and the mosque of Cordova, Bell, *op. cit.* p. 152.

[2] *Amida*, p. 317. [3] *Op. cit.* p. 329.

[4] *E.g.* Mschatta, *Jahrb. d. Kön. Preuss. Kunst-Samml.* Pl. I.; *Amida*, Fig. 275. Kasr-Ibn-Wardan, *op. cit.* Fig. 276.

Arslan II., and his grandfather Masoud. So not only was there a royal mausoleum at Konia long previous to Sultan Alaeddin's day, but it consisted, according to Ibn Bibi, of a structure with a cupola. It remains to decide whether the present building (Pl. VIII. 2) is the work of Alaeddin, or goes back to an earlier date.

The evidence for assigning it to Alaeddin is weighty; it is included among his works in the inscription on the marble portal of the façade, and the inscription on the mausoleum itself gives the date 1219, the year of Alaeddin's accession to the throne. The style of building of this mausoleum, however, is sufficiently striking. It presents a profound contrast with the masjid (Pl. VIII. 3), and, roughly speaking, the difference is precisely similar to that between the two periods of the façade. The turbeh is of brownish limestone like the earlier part of the façade, it is heavy in proportions, with but slight decoration, which is confined to rather coarsely cut mouldings. Over the door was once a heavy projecting cornice on consols,[1] like that above the octagonal star on the façade, while the lintel of the door is supported on two curved brackets, like the windows of the west façade at Amida. In every point the mausoleum groups itself with the earlier period of the façade and with the earlier type of Seljouk work, as seen at Amida. This style was due to contact with the ruder stone technique of Northern Mesopotamia, rather than to Syria, which was the prevailing influence in the later period.

Such indications as these would be worthless in face of the epigraphic evidence for assigning the work to Alaeddin's reign, had we not already the façade as instance of a work belonging to at least two periods of construction and to two Sultans, claimed by one of them as his own achievement. A solitary piece of epigraphic evidence of early date is preserved by van Berchem, though no precise record of it exists. He saw on the outer face of the cupola an inscription which he took to be identical with that of Kilidj Arslan II. on the minbar inside the mosque. Van Berchem went as far as to suggest on these grounds alone, that if his supposition were correct, the mausoleum must date long previous to Alaeddin's reign;[2] and the inscription of 1219 over the door must refer, like Alaeddin's inscriptions on the façade, to improvements or restorations.

The minbar itself is witness to the fact that not only a mausoleum but a mosque also existed previous to Sultan Kai Kaous I.'s great under-

[1] Only the consols remain. [2] Von Oppenheim, *op. cit.* p. 138, No. 18 (van Berchem).

takings. Of this no other trace remains, but, judging from the minbar, its furnishings at least were of no mean order. Before Kai Kaous I. began to build, Konia had for more than a century been the capital of the empire of Roum, and it is impossible to suppose that during all that time the first Mahomedan empire north of Taurus had no fit place of worship in its capital. That so little survives from the period before Kai Kaous I., and so much from Alaeddin's reign and the decades immediately succeeding it, is not difficult to understand. In 1191 the third Crusade appeared before Konia, and though the town capitulated, something like a general massacre took place; it is unlikely that its buildings met with better treatment than its inhabitants at the hands of the barbarian Soldiers of the Cross. In the succeeding years Konia underwent many alarms and excursions when the sons of Kilidj Arslan II. alternately besieged each other in the capital of the empire, in their efforts to attain sole possession of its throne. So a long task of restoration must have lain before the Sultans of the early thirteenth century, who seem to have experienced a reaction from the purely blood and iron ideals of their predecessors. Both Kai Kaous and Alaeddin, according to Ibn Bibi, were not only valiant but highly cultivated monarchs who encouraged poetry, philosophy and the arts. Thus the earliest Mahomedan building extant in Konia bears their names, and Kai Kaous' incomplete undertakings were carried out in magnificent style by his brother and successor, Alaeddin, not only at Konia but throughout the realm.

II.

THE ENERGHEH MOSQUE.[1]

A remarkable stone portal (Pl. IX. 2, 3) gives entrance to the small, plain mosque known as the Energheh Djami, on the southern outskirts of Konia, close to where the Larenda Gate once stood. In the south wall of this little mosque a door communicates with the beautiful tiled turbeh of Fakhreddin, beyond which lies another mosque, or prayer room, domed, and with vestiges of tiling, but no longer in use. Only the stone façade concerns us here.

[1] Saladin, *L'Art Musulman*, p. 462; Huart, *Konia*, p. 175; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinas.*, p. 54, Pls. XXVI., XXVII., XXVIII.; *id.*, *Pers. Denk.* p. 132, Fig. 188, Pl. CIX.; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 149 (wrongly terms it the mosque of Alaeddin).

External evidence of date is practically absent, but the organic relation between the Energheh mosque and the turbeh of Fakhreddin suggests connection in point of date, and perhaps of foundation also. The inscription on the façade is illegible but for the words: 'the work of Kalous (= Mamelouk?[1]) ibn Abdallah,'[2] which give no clue. Locally, however, the Energheh mosque is commonly called the Mosque of Sahib Ata, and this, as Huart has pointed out, must be connected with the title Sahib, which appears, with that of Fakhreddin, on the tomb in the turbeh behind it.[3] The tomb is dated 1285,[4] so we must suppose that if the mosque was built by Fakhreddin, it is earlier than the date of his death. The turbeh itself, according to the inscription on the faïence interior, was built by him in 1269,[5] and this date tallies with that of the Gueuk Medresseh at Sivas, the work of a Konia architect, which in many ways resembles the Energheh façade. In the absence of better information the Energheh mosque must be dated about 1269.[6]

The material of the façade is a brick core, faced with a rather coarse limestone, well hewn and squared: in the panel immediately below the minarets the brick appears on the surface, inlaid with geometric patterns of glazed bricks. The plan of the gate is Persian, with twin minarets rising from the portal-structure as in the Persian royal mosques, and, like them, the façade is divided into rectangular panels each containing a niche.[7] While, however, the Persian façades are tiled, the facing and decorations are here of stone.

Two striking ornamental features distinguish this gate from the earlier Seljouk buildings of Konia, namely, the heavily profiled interlacing mouldings, and less conspicuous, but equally important, the finely worked arabesques that form part of the framework of the niches of the façade and the porch. So far, the patterns used in the stone façades[8] in Seljouk work have been purely geometric.

The interlacing roll mouldings follow patterns common enough in Saracen art; examples have already been noticed in the flat mouldings of

[1] Sarre. [2] Huart, *Rev. Sem.* 1896, No. 49.
[3] Huart, *Konia*, p. 176. [4] Huart, *Rev. Sem.* 1896, No. 51. [5] *Ibid.* No. 50.
[6] Saladin, *op. cit.* p. 456, Fig. 336.
[7] This disposition, a great arch in a façade with niches in two tiers, is probably derived directly from the great arch at Ctesiphon.
[8] For instance, the façades of the Alaeddin mosque, the Kara Tai, and Sirtcheli Medressehs, Sarre, *Reise*, Pls. XIX., XX., XXII.–XXV.

the Alaeddin façade. But the heavy profile which characterises them here marks, I think, a reversion from Syrian to Mesopotamian tradition; we are reminded of the star on the Alaeddin façade. The artist seems to have experienced a revolt from the subdued, unplastic, quasi-colourist forms of the Sirtcheli Medresseh, toned to Syrian and Persian taste, and to have cast off restraint in asserting the tridimensional birthright of his material. The interlacing patterns still prevailed, but in rendering them he followed Northern Mesopotamian tradition, where the possession of certain materials, gypsum and alabaster, had always favoured considerable under-cutting and heavier profiles.

The Gueuk Medresseh at Sivas gives the key still more clearly. The heavy interlacing moulding that knots and climbs over the whole of the façade has an exact parallel in the alabaster mihrab of the court of the old mosque[1] and the door (A, Sarre and Herzfeld) of the grave mosque of Aun-al-din at Mossul.[2] Though the mosque at Mossul was built by the Zenghid Nur-eddin in the twelfth century, the mihrab mentioned is probably no older than the Aun-al-din door, which is of the period of the Zenghid Lulu, of the middle of the thirteenth century. These works are thus about contemporary with the Energheh Djami, but there is evidence that the type of decoration was, in Mesopotamia, alike the heritage of the Saracen builders and of the Christians who preceded them. In the architectural forms appearing in the tables of canons, and in the miniature paintings of Gospels and other manuscripts throughout the eastern Christian world in the middle ages, interlacing patterns run riot over column shafts, archivolts and mouldings.[3] There is plenty of evidence, moreover, to show that neither the Syrians nor the Copts, to whom Christian miniature painting was largely due, invented these arts, but that they were inspired from further east. These interlacing patterns, together with the ornate arcades around the canons, the peacocks and other birds, in fact, all the motives peculiar to Syrian miniature painting, appear in the Rabbula Gospels of the sixth century from the cloister of St. John at Zagba in Mesopotamia,[4] and despite the close connection of Mesopotamia and Syria, it is not likely that Mesopotamia was entirely the borrower. Egypt and Syria themselves came early under Persian influence, long

[1] Sarre and Herzfeld, *Reise*, Pl. V. (left).
[2] *Ibid.* Pl. VIII. (right).
[3] A fine collection of these paintings is produced by Stasoff in *L'Ornement Slav.*
[4] In the *Biblioteca Laurentiana*, Florence. Garucci, *Storia dell'Arte*, Pls. 126, 138.

before the Sassanid empire met its end, and Sassanian origin must be sought for a great part of their decorative ideas in the early Christian centuries. Strzygowski was the first to guess that the manuscript styles came in with the use of parchment from a like source, *i.e.* from Mesopotamia and yet further east. No Pehlevi manuscripts of the Sassanians survive, but St. Augustine's protest[1] preserves ample record not only of their existence, but of their valuable and lovely painted decorations.[2]

Of importance for our point are the architectural paintings in the early Christian manuscripts, which scarcely resemble any extant Christian buildings of like age. The only extant buildings in Syria and Mesopotamia with decorative arcading, acanthus archivolts, etc., such as the Mschatta palace and the Church of St. Sergius at Resafa, themselves go back to Persian sources. Exactly what the decorative features of Sassanian palaces were like we shall never know, for the Palace of Ctesiphon was of brick, and its stucco ornamentation has vanished long ago. A hint, however, is provided by the bands of stucco entrelac and arabesque ornament on the walls of the Ibn Touloun mosque at Cairo, built for him by an architect of Samarra, where the stucco facings have long disappeared from the ruined brick mosques of early Saracen date.

It can scarcely be doubted that the architectural decorations of the early Christian manuscripts reflect real buildings in the more luxurious civilisations further east whence the parchment itself had come, and whence the stucco mantle of brick edifices lent itself to elaborate and fanciful forms. These the Saracens developed in their own way. The interlacing patterns tend to acquire the forms seen in the Mossul mihrab and doorway, the Gueuk Medresseh and the Energheh portal, that is to say, the straight lines become concave, the angles sharply pointed. Saracen taste reacted again on the Christian manuscripts of the thirteenth century onwards, and led to fantastic schemes of decoration such as those of the Georgian, Armenian and Slavonic miniature paintings of the fourteenth century.[3]

A comparison of the two mihrabs of the great mosque at Mossul is instructive. That of Nureddin[4] has none of the knotched mouldings so

[1] *Adv. Faustum*, Bk. XIII. Ch. 6 and 18.

[2] The whole question is discussed by Strzygowski in *Kleinarmenische Miniaturenmalerei*, and his work on the Armenian miniature painting in *Byzant. Denkmäler*, i. p. 81 and *Oriens Christianus*, i. p. 356.

[3] Van Berchem; *Amida*, pp. 125–6.

[4] Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.* Pl. V. (right).

conspicuous on the mihrab and door of the Zenghid Lulu; it can but be surmised that in the time of the latter prince some fresh artistic influence was at work. Whence this came is indicated by one other important difference between the work of the two Zenghid princes. Nureddin's mihrab is inscribed in cufic lettering, that of Lulu in cursive naski which invaded North Mesopotamian epigraphy about the last decade of the twelfth century. The origins of naski character are by no means clear, but it appears on the coins of the Shamanid dynasty of the Khorassan from the beginning of the tenth century.[1] Its appearance in the monuments of Lulu at Mossul must point to that wave of fresh influence from Central Asia, to which the heavy entrelac mouldings are also probably due.

III.

THE INDJEH MINARELI MEDRESSEH.

The College of the Slender Minaret[2] stands to the west of the Acropolis hill, which it faces across the remains of the moat. The lovely minaret no longer stands to its full height (Pl. X. 1); all but the lowest third fell struck by lightning some thirteen years ago, and thus the effect of the tall portal (Pl. X. 2), which is narrower and much higher than most Seljouk façades, is totally lost.[3] The design in all its details is too unique to afford evidence of date, but among the inscriptions the name 'Kalous ibn Abdallah' can be read,[4] suggesting that the work is more or less contemporary with the Energheh mosque.

The portal is of a reddish trachyte sandstone, rather softer than the material of the other Konia buildings, involving a coarser and less delicate technique, and inviting more undercutting of the stone. The design is a somewhat original conception; it is treated in three vertical planes, slightly recessed one within the other. The outer plane consists only of the vertical bands of ornament (mainly inscriptions) which frame the façade, with a horizontal projecting member across the top. This probably

[1] Hartmann. *Orient. Litt. Zeitung.* 1906, pp. 28, 70, 117 *seqq.*; 233, 297, 421 *seqq.*

[2] Huart, *Konia*, p. 160; Saladin, *L'Art Mus.* p. 459, Fig. 337; Sarre, *Reise*, Pl. XXX.; *id.*, *Pers. Denk.* Figs. 189–192.

[3] A photograph by Solakian, Konia, records the building before the catastrophe, with the minaret standing to its full height.

[4] Saladin, *op. cit.* i. p. 459. He argues that Kalous ibn Abdallah was an Armenian renegade.

supported a cornice which has fallen; its lower edge makes a downward curve in the central axis of the design, while the upward curves to either side are broken by a sharp cusp turned downwards. The bands of inscription which pass up the vertical sides of this frame must have returned horizontally along the top; in the centre they appear again vertically, meeting and crossing on the downward horizontal curve. Here they make the step back to the second, or middle plane, the centre of which they descend in two parallel bands. The transition from this plane to the next is made by a flat arch of two quarter circles and a horizontal between them, like the door and window spans of the Alaeddin turbeh. The bands of inscription descend over the horizontal member of this arch to the last and innermost plane, down the centre of which they pass vertically to the apex of the door, where they cross twice and frame the archivolt. They come to an end unevenly at the springing of the arch. On the lower part of the façade restorations have taken place, but originally these bands of inscription reached to the ground. The whole design is a mass of inscriptions, so elaborately cut and decorated as to be illegible. Only the architect's name, Kalous ibn Abdallah, can be read.

Saladin thought that the design was derived from Armenian architecture, on the grounds of its resemblance to the portals of Divrigui and Sivas. The decorative elements of the Gueuk Medresseh, as we have seen,[1] can be traced to sources which are far distant from Armenia. In the gates of the mosque at Divrigui,[2] there is surely very little resemblance to the gateway before us, except in the rather florid and elaborate nature of the conception. In fact, the truly Armenian elements of the great door at Divrigui, such as the deeply-recessed, Gothic-looking arch with its multiplication of mouldings and colonettes, are the most remarkable points in which the Divrigui building differs from any Konia work.

To understand certain elements in the Indjeh Minareli façade, for instance, the heavy entrelac mouldings above the second arch and around the blind niches of the minaret, the narrow arabesque mouldings and the solid unworked bosses in the tympana above the door, we need look no further than the Energheh Djami (Pl. IX. 3), where they have already been sufficiently studied. The majority of motives also point in the same direction; away from the Armenian churches. The wide bands of inscription which climb and cross over the whole design recall certain interlacing

[1] See above p. 48. [2] *Amida*, Fig. 291.

bands of stucco inscription in the Qara Serai built by the Zenghid Lulu, at Mossul.[1] It is remarkable also that the bands of inscription take an even more important place here than on the Energheh façade, and are entirely in naski of the same profusely decorative and almost illegible type.[2] The naski in these works is treated as a basis for an intricate interlacing pattern, rather than as a means of literary expression.

The tendency to divide the arch-scheme vertically in two is curious, and in this case unique in Seljouk building. It occurs to a considerable extent in the windows of Byzantine buildings, and occasionally in Syrian churches.[3] In the Church of St. Amphilochius on the Acropolis hill at Konia a window is thus divided. Blind niches commonly have this vertical division with merely a consol instead of a central support. The device is frequent in manuscript painting; it appears in a Byzantine reliquary of the tenth century at Cologne,[4] and quite frequently in building façades in Georgian, Armenian, and southern Slavonic manuscripts. It was a useful device for framing a table of canons arranged in two columns, and could be extended to three or more.

The remaining features are all reminiscent of manuscript work of the late twelfth, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The narrow vertical roll mouldings, which knot elaborately at about one-third of their height, recall the framing of miniatures representing the Apostles, or scenes from the Gospels, and the decorations of furniture and drapery in these paintings.[5] Most striking of all are the great plastic vegetable ornaments that fill the hollows to either side of the façade. These are worked in the round, and are absolutely unique in Seljouk or other work in stone.

Their form is almost precisely similar to innumerable marginal motives and capital letter forms of Armenian manuscripts. The appended sketches are taken from two Gospels in the British Museum[6] (Fig. 6).

It should be borne in mind that the architecture depicted in the manuscripts has no connection with actual Armenian buildings. The best period of Armenian architecture is from the fifth to the eleventh centuries

[1] Sarre and Herzfeld, *Reise*, Pl. XCVI.–XCVII.

[2] A small amount of cufic is still in use in the Energheh façade, and none at all on the Indjeh Minareli; a sign that the latter, as all indications suggest, is of slightly later date.

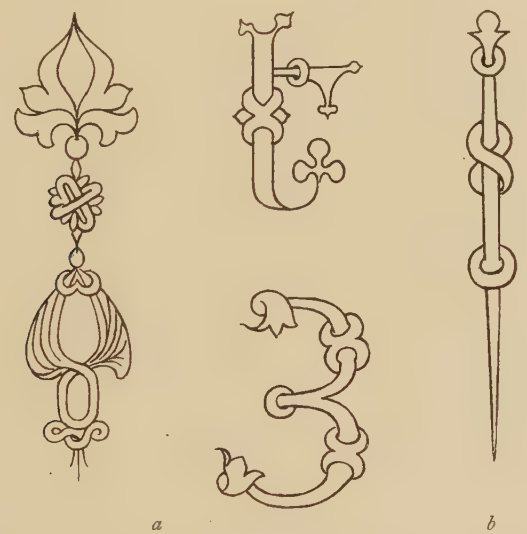
[3] *E.g.* Jebel: van Berchem and Fatis, *Voyage en Syrie*, Pl. V.

[4] A cross hangs from the cusp. Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine*, i. p. 476.

[5] Stasoff, *op. cit.* Pl. CLVII. etc.

[6] (*a*) Brit. Mus. *Or.* 5626 (A.D. 1282). (*b*) *Ibid. Or.* 81 (A.D. 1181, Drasark).

A.D. and is based on the work of Syrian architects with some directly Byzantine influence. Architectural schemes like those of the late Armenian manuscripts never appear in the real buildings of the country, so that the possibility of the influence of Armenian architects on the Indjeh Minareli portal at Konia is precluded. The Armenian manuscripts, whose decorations it so much resembles, come almost all from the famous cloister of Drasark in Little Armenia, the kingdom founded by refugees from Greater Armenia at the fall of Ani before the Seljouks under Alp Arslan. Here



a *b*

FIG. 6.—CAPITAL LETTERS FROM ARMENIAN GOSPELS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Armenian culture fled, and bloomed afresh, animated directly and through the medium of Syria by a fresh wave of oriental and Persian influence[1] which invade the miniature paintings of the succeeding centuries with a quantity of oriental forms of Saracen type such as tiled façades, ornate columns and bulbous domes.

Capital letters (*e.g.* B, Fig. 6) take on the most curious knotted forms, which must be directly due to the knottings of ornamental cufic script in the Saracenic decorative arts. The knottings and half palmettes of capital

[1] Strzygowski, *Kleinarmenische Miniaturenmalerei*, p. 36.

letters and marginal motives are derived by Strzygowski straight from Sassanian manuscripts[1]; they can be traced in the decorations of Sassanian column caps and early Arab carvings derived from the Sassanians, in stucco, marble and stone.[2] But though this derivation is fundamentally true, Strzygowski overlooked the long centuries of cufic tradition which divide the Sassanid empire from the manuscript school of Drasark.

Was Kalous Ibn Abdallah, then, working directly under Persian influence or through the medium of the artists of Little Armenia? Only one answer is possible. The Indjeh Minareli façade is not like any Persian building extant or preserved in Persian miniature paintings, and has in general and in detail, as we have seen, many points in common with the miniature paintings of Little Armenia. Kalous must have been in close contact with Drasark, familiar with its paintings, and a master of its methods of design. But what the monastic painters only imagined with pen and ink on parchment, on a miniature scale, he dared to realise fifty feet high in a massive structure in stone to which, if we cannot wholly allow beauty, we cannot stint praise for the bold originality of the conception.

The interior, reached by a vestibule, is on the Syro-Egyptian plan, with a domed central court like that of the Kara Tai Medresseh, of which it seems to be a humbler reproduction. Like it, the dome is carried on pendentives divided into plane triangular faces; in this case, however, each pendentive consists of only four triangles, so that the dome rests on a polygon of twenty equal sides. The dome has the same round opening at the top, now covered by a modern lantern, and with a large water tank sunk in the pavement beneath. In the sepulchral chambers to right and left of the liwan the domes are on triangular pendentives like those of the Alaeddin mosque, while the dome of the little masjid or prayer room in the court to the right of the Medresseh, rests on simple corbelled brackets like those in the entrance hall of the Kara Tai Medresseh. The faïence decorations take a far less important place in the interior than is usual in Seljouk work.

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[1] Strzygowski, *op. cit.* p. 36 *seqq.*

[2] *Id.* Mschatta, pp. 274–358, Figs. 91, 92, 93, 115, 117, 118. Similar ornaments are conspicuous on the façade of the Gueuk Medresseh at Sivas; they can also be compared to the floral motives at the Eschref Rum, Beischehir, and the Hatounieh Medresseh, Karaman.

NOTE ON THE VAULTING SYSTEMS OF KONIA.

All the older Seljouk buildings at Konia are roofed with brick vaults. Flat wooden roofs occur only twice, in the lateral halls of the mosque of Alaeddin, and in the much-restored Energheh mosque. Square, or approximately square buildings carry a round brick dome; longer rectangles, such as liwans and corridors, are vaulted in the shape of a pointed Persian arch. The popularity and antiquity of the round brick vault is evidenced by the numerous turbehs in which it is used, without exception, for internal roofing, whether the outer structure be a pyramid of brick or of stone. It is remarkable, however, that with the round brick vault, which can be traced with equal justification either to Byzantine or Persian origins, the Seljouk builders none the less seem to have avoided the pendentive and the squinch, the types of adjustment characteristic of these two spheres of architectural influence.

The Persian squinch[1] never once appears in a Seljouk medresseh or mosque at Konia, and only occasionally in a very humble way in the turbehs; for instance in that locally called 'Kalendah Baba.' The stalactite squinch is altogether absent from the internal structure of Konia buildings, and this is the more remarkable since it plays an important part at Ak Serai and Sultan Han, and was a favourite device of the Ayymbid and Mamelouk builders in Syria, and later of Ottoman architects. Its use, however, is not a question of later date, for it appears in the Mosque of Manuchar at Ani, which was built in the eleventh century, and in the Ortokid mosque, about 1152–76 at Mayarfarquin near Dyarbekr. Seljouk builders at Konia seem for some reason, after the period of the Palace, to have avoided stalactites in brick construction. In all the buildings above mentioned in which stalactites appear, the whole structure is of stone, and the architects of Konia used them freely in the calottes of stone portals.

The true Byzantine pendentive never once appears in Seljouk work at Konia or elsewhere, though in the sub-Seljouk period at Karaman it is found both in stone and brick. A curious form, immediately of Byzantine origin, is the series of arches facing the interior of the vault in the turbeh of 'Oulash Baba.' The perfect form of this type, which is useful in

[1] The Byzantines also used it, but gave it a round form.

dispensing with centring, requires a series of superimposed arches reaching to the apex of the dome.[1] Here, if my examination of the plaster was correct, there was only one row of arches; the scheme was for some reason abortive.

The favourite form of adjustment at Konia is that termed triangular or polygonal pendentives, 'pendentifs à facets' or 'à fuseaux.' 'Polyhedric' is a more accurate term. These are found in the Alaeddin mosque[2]

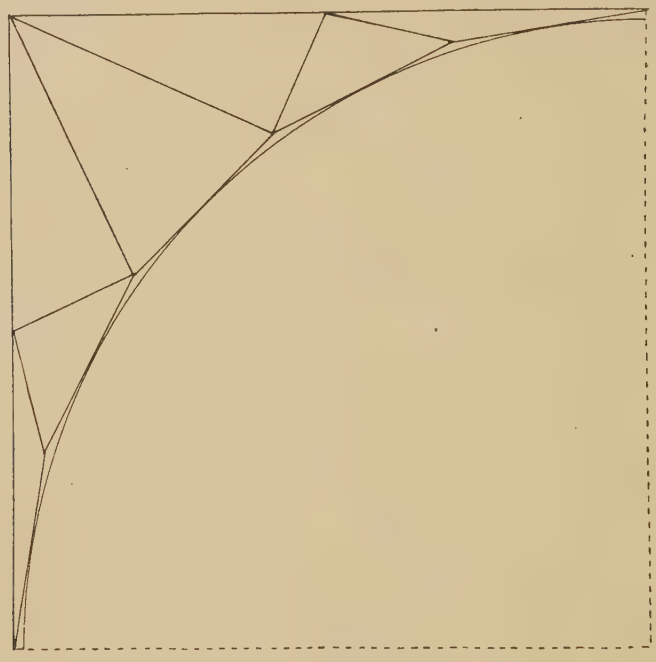

FIG. 7.—POLYHEDRIC PENDENTIVE OF THE MOSQUE OF ALAEDDIN.

(Fig. 7)[3] and in the mausolea incorporated with the Sirtcheli, Kara Tai, Indjeh Minareli Medressehs, and the mausoleum of Fakhreddin. Choisy[4] claims to have found this type of adjustment at a later period in Byzantine

[1] Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les byzantins*, pp. 69–70, Fig. 76.

[2] Migeon, *L'Art musulman*, ii. Fig. 245.

[3] The diagrams reproduced in Figs. 7, 8, were kindly drawn for me by my father, Dr. Horace Lamb, F.R.S.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 96–7, Fig. 116.

architecture, and regards it as a decadent form of the true spherical pendentive. He does not cite the names of the churches or other buildings where this form is seen: it is at least rare and obscure. But even granting its Byzantine origin, it can scarcely have been a degenerate form of the true pendentive. To begin with, it is more difficult to construct, and secondly, it does not fulfil the true functions of a pendentive at all. In the case of true spherical pendentives, whether they are continuous with the dome or of less radius, the dome rests on a bed which is a circle, and a complete transition is made from the dome to the walls. The Seljouk pendentives make no transition at all from dome to ground plan,—the discrepancy between the circular and the rectangular plan is got over by interposing a polygon of many sides and large angles. Upon this polygon the dome rests, and the large angles are easily adjusted to the circle. In this respect the Seljouk pendentives are a derivative of primitive corbelling, which long preceded the invention of the spherical pendentive, and flourished contemporaneously with it and with its descendant the squinch. The simplest form of corbel is a stone laid across the corner, making an octagonal bed over a square plan; it is common in the Christian buildings of Syria and is used at Bin bir Kilisse[1] in the Kara Dagh, not far from Konia. In Syria another stage is seen in buildings from the third to the sixth centuries. Here the corbel-stone is elaborated by building up a triangular bracket beneath it of horizontal courses with an inclined face.[2] The result is a species of triangular glacis, of plane surface, at the corners. This of course diminished, but did not solve, the discrepancy between polygon and circle, for the dome had still to be adjusted to the angles of the octagon. The only true solution was to abolish the polygon with its angles, and set the dome on pendentives composed of segments of a sphere.

The Seljouk pendentive is merely an elaboration of the glacis. The glacis gives only an octagon, whose angles are still small enough to be awkward. The builder of the Seljouk pendentives aimed not at abolishing the polygon, but at multiplying its sides till the angles were large enough to be negligible. The additional corbelling required received its simplest form in the polyhedric pendentives of Konia. Thus the dome of the

[1] Ramsay and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, p. 438.

[2] Tetragonal arch at Lattakieh, De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, Fig. 30; also at Bizzos and Ezra, *ibid.* Pl. 76.

Alaeddin mosque rests on a polygon of twenty equal sides, those of the turbehs of the Kara Tai Medresseh (Fig. 8), the Indjeh Minareli Medresseh, and the Fakhreddin turbeh on sixteen, those of the turbehs of the Sirtcheli Medresseh [1] on fourteen sides. Already in the Sirtcheli Medresseh, the adjustment of the polygon to a rectangle that is not a square, involved elaboration of the polyhedric corbels. Sides of the polygon fall opposite the centres of the long sides of the rectangle, and angles of the polygon opposite the centres of the short sides; the relations of polygon and

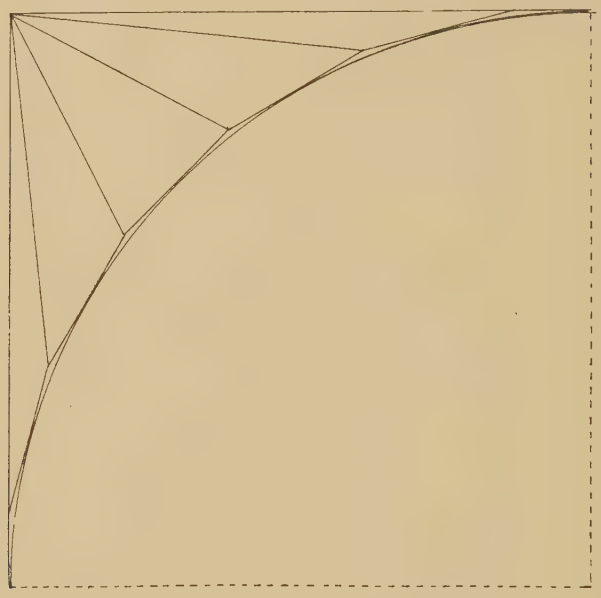

FIG. 8.—PENDENTIVE OF THE KARA TAI MEDRESSEH.

rectangle became very much more complicated. The triangular glacis across the corner had therefore to be abandoned and the adjustments are skilfully contrived, though they must have been more difficult to build. From these elaborations sprang the manifold and bewildering intricacy of the adjustments used by the Ottoman builders at Broussa and Adrianople.[2]

[1] Sarre, *Pers. Denk.* Figs. 176, 183.

[2] Saladin, *op. cit.* i. Figs. 361, 363; Choisy, *op. cit.* pp. 69–70; Rosenthal, *Pendentifs, Trompen und Stalaktiten* (Leipzig, 1912), agrees in attacking Choisy's derivation of the polyhedric pendentives, but misses, I think, the whole objective of the Seljouk architect, which was to create, by means of triangular supports, a polygon with a sufficiently large number of sides to adjust easily to the circular base of the dome.

Another development of the polygonal bed for a dome, given by the corbel and triangular glacis, is seen in the adjustments of the central domes of the Kara Tai (Pl. XI.) and the Indjeh Minareli Medressehs. In the former the polygon has twenty-four equal sides; the sides that cross the corners are carried on a triangular glacis, and the same method is adopted in the two sides of the polygon to right and left of this. The corbels, instead of resting on the side walls, as in the polyhedric forms described above, spring from the same point as the corner glacis, from which they spread like a fan. In the Indjeh Minareli the polygon has only twenty sides; the corner is no longer crossed by a glacis, but by an angle of the polygon and the solid angle between two of these triangular corbels.

A brief glance at the Seljouk stalactites, considered as a means of adjusting a round vault to a square plan, is not out of place in this connection. All stalactite vaulting goes back to Persia, where the stalactite was evolved from the superposition of squinches having the Persian pointed arch shape. In the land of their origin stalactites, when composed of brick, were rectilinear in form, when of moulded terracotta they were curved. The former, owing to the influence at Cairo of Mesopotamian brick construction, became characteristic of Egyptian stalactites in any material, including stone.

The curved form was adopted by the Syrian builders of stalactites in stone. Both were used by the Seljouks at Konia. The curved form, for instance, is found on the Kara Tai portal (Pl. X. 3), the portals of Sultan Han, and in the niches of the Sirtcheli Medresseh porch.[1] The rectilinear form is used on the Energheh Djami (Pl. IX. 3), and probably indicates a later date when applied to stone.

The inner faces of the stalactite niches are frequently filled in with decoration; a fine variety is seen in the stalactites of the Kara Tai portal (Pl. X. 3). The favourite device is vertical flutings radiating downwards from the summit of the niche; this is commonly used for the niche at the apex of a calotte. In the lowest row of stalactite niches on the Kara Tai portal alternate stalactite niches receive an arabesque motive delicately cut. This was already used in the stalactites of the squinches at the

[1] The curved form appears in Manuchar's mosque at Ani and the Ortokid mosque at Mayarfarquin. An instance of the rectilinear form in brick at Konia at an early date, is the corbel supporting the gallery of the ruined Kiosk near the Mosque of Alaeddin (Pl. IX. 1).

Ortokid mosque at Mayarfarquin.[1] The same porch shows another motive in the niches, which is common in Seljouk work, namely a series of grooves which radiate like a fan from the centre of the niche and fill the tiny calotte (Pl. X. 3, the 2nd, 4th and 5th row of stalactites from the top, and Fig. 9*a*).

This is an elaboration of the single rectilinear stalactite of crystalline, or polyhedric form, which is sometimes used to fill the stalactite niche in earlier Seljouk work at Konia and elsewhere (Fig. 9*b*, and Pl. X. 3, top row of stalactites). The earliest use of them known to me is at the Mosque of Manuchar at Ani;[2] it is frequent in the stalactites of Sultan Han, both on the portals and in the ruined dome of the mosque, but it goes out of use after the middle of the thirteenth century, and does not appear at all in the stalactites of the Energheh Djami. Texier derived

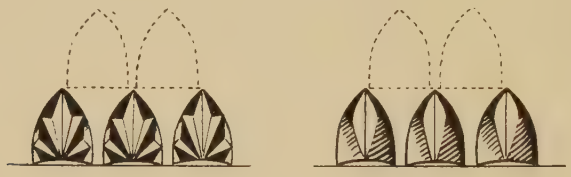

FIG. 9.—DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING TWO FORMS OF STALACTITE.

the prismatic stalactite from the polyhedric adjustments, made of pieces of faïence, cut out and placed together, which appear on the great liwan arch of the Sirtcheli Medresseh.[3] The polyhedric stalactite (Fig. 9*b*) must have a like origin, in juxtaposed triangles of faïence; when applied to glazed brick or faïence niches they would gleam like the facets of a gem. No examples of this stalactite survive in faïence: but Texier's[4] coloured plates of the decorations of the palace at Konia show a cornice supported on faïence stalactites of this kind. The colouring of these plates is probably for the most part imaginary: there is no reason to doubt that the form is correct.

Translated into stone, the polyhedric stalactite loses its significance and becomes rather futile. The Seljouks, though its inventors, used it

[1] Bell, *Ukhaidir*, Pl. 83, Fig. 2.
[2] Lynch, *Armenia*, Fig. 80.
[3] Texier, *L'Arménie, la Mesopotamie et la Perse*, ii. Pl. XCIX.
[4] Texier, *op. cit.* Pl. 102.

comparatively little, but it seems to have struck the fancy of the Ottoman builders, who used it as an independent form of stalactite, without the niches which originally accompanied it. It became the basis of the capital called by Montani Effendi[1] 'l'ordre bréchiforme.' Its advantage is that it is equally suitable to a convex or a concave adjustment. In this respect, as well as by its polyhedric nature, the Ottoman builders saw that both it and the polyhedric pendentive were geometrically the same in function; and in consequence, elaboration of the latter led to assimilation of the two forms, as in the adjustments of the Green Mosque and its turbeh[2] at Broussa.

D. L.

[1] *L'Architecture Ottomane*, p. 15.

[2] Saladin, *op. cit.* i. p. 498, note 1, Figs. 361, 363, 366.

STONE CULTS AND VENERATED STONES IN THE GRAECO-TURKISH AREA.

THE veneration of stones seems to have been world-wide at an early stage in religious development, and has left traces everywhere in the magical and 'folklore' practices of civilized peoples. Over the Semitic area stone worship, as such, survived later and more generally than among peoples more prone to anthropomorphism; and Islam, so far from being able to displace it, tacitly sanctioned it by allowing the reverence paid already by pagan Arabs to the Black Stone of the Kaaba to be perpetuated on the rather far-fetched hypothesis that the angel Gabriel had brought it to Mecca.[1]

Christianity, somewhat in the same way, has permitted or encouraged the paying of reverence to stones associated by tradition with saintly personages, the Stone of Unction at Jerusalem being a typical example. In both the great religions of the Near East the arbitrary association of certain stones with sacred persons and events has been allowed to replace or mask the more primitive idea of worshipping stones as fetishes with independent power.

Side by side with cults so masked by orthodoxy exist others of a purely secular sort, not necessarily more ancient chronologically, though more openly primitive in spirit, as magic and witchcraft are more primitive than religion.

The present paper is an attempt to bring together from what may be called roughly the Graeco-Turkish area, some instances of stones venerated independently of religion and often indiscriminately, by Christians and

[1] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 297; cf. Burton, *Pilgrimage*, iii. 158, n. 176 n., and Ray's *Collection of Voyages*, ii. 163.

Mahommedans in common, and of others brought to a greater or less degree within the pale of Islam or of Christianity: those of the second category, it will be noted, have frequently a more or less exact prototype, which to some extent sanctions their veneration, in the important holy-places of the religion concerned. Whether from contamination, *i.e.* from the interaction of Christian and Mahommedan ideas over the area in question, or independently, *i.e.* from the original prevalence of similar ideas among the populations concerned, the developments of these stone-cults in both religions will be found closely parallel.

Venerated stones fall into two main groups, which to some extent overlap: those of the first class are selected for their natural qualities, especially their material, those of the second for their shape or for work upon them. An intermediate link is formed by stones bearing 'miraculous' marks or imprints, presumably natural and accidental, which are generally accounted for by legends bringing them into connection with venerated personages.[1]

I.—NATURAL STONES.

A.—STONES SELECTED FOR THEIR NATURAL QUALITIES.

To the first class apparently belongs what we may consider the prototype of venerated stones in Islam, the Black Stone of the Kaaba; this seems to be an aerolith and is built into the Holy House in fragments. Though it is supposed, and with every probability, to be the cultus-object of the idolatrous pre-Islamic Arabs at Mecca, all *hadjis* piously kiss it as part of the pilgrimage.[2] Another sacred stone, on which the Prophet is supposed to have sat, exists in a mosque at Medina. It is reputed to cure sterility.[3]

For instances of stones venerated by Eastern Christendom for their material, we may cite the miraculous alabaster stone seen at Angora by Schiltberger (c. 1400),[4] and mentioned also by later travellers.[5] This

[1] The extraordinary ease with which any peculiarity of a stone may be so construed as to bring it into relation with a local saint is exemplified by the case of a stone seen by Wheler at the door of the church of S. Andrew at Patras, which 'being struck by another stone' sent out 'a stinking Bituminous Savour.' This was attributed to its having been the seat of the judge who condemned the saint. (*Journey into Greece*, 294.)

[2] It would be interesting to know whether the 'stone from Mecca' built into the mosque at Hassan-dede in Cappadocia received similar reverence (Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx. 308).

[3] Goldziher in *Archiv für Religionsw.* xiv. 308.

[4] Ed. Penzel, 85.

[5] Tournefort, *Voyage*, Letter XXI.; Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, Amsterdam, 1714, i. 111; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii.$_2$ 89; M. Walker, *Old Tracks and New Landmarks*, 71, cf. 65.

stone was cut in the shape of a cross and built into a church, the miracle being that it 'burnt' *i.e.* was translucent in sunlight;[1] it was credited also with healing powers. In spite of its shape it was the centre of a pilgrimage in which Moslems participated.

The selection of these stones for veneration evidently depends primarily on their unusual material. In other cases colour plays a part. Yellow stones preserved in two mosques at Constantinople (the Ahmedyeh[2] and the Yeni Valideh[3]) are held to be charms against jaundice.[4] Analogous is the use of white stones as milk-charms,[5] of which the semi-opaque prehistoric gems of Melos and Crete offer an excellent example.[6] A plain white marble slab built into a church on the Cyzicene Peninsula is credited with the same property, scrapings of it being drunk in water by anxious mothers.[7]

B.—PIERCED STONES.

Natural pierced stones and rocks are used superstitiously all over the Near East. In the Taurus, near a medicinal hot spring traditionally connected with S. Helena, is a natural pierced rock bearing, at a distance, a strong resemblance to the figure of a man leaning on a stick. This is supposed to represent a shepherd turned to stone by the curse of S. Helena, and Greeks and Turks who make use of the healing powers of the spring, pass through the hole in the rock as part of their cure.[8] Near Caesarea Mrs. Scott-Stevenson was shewn 'a large circular stone with a hole in its centre' to which 'the natives bring their children soon after they are born, and pass them through the hole in order that they may learn to speak

[1] The 'Yanar Tash' near Caesarea and the thin, semitransparent marble of the bishop's tomb at Nicaea are 'miracles' of the same unexciting kind, apparently not exploited as cures. Another 'burning stone' was shewn in the Parthenon at Athens, both before and after the Turkish occupation, with an appropriately varied legend (Martoni, in *Ath. Mitth.* xxii. 429; Galland, *Journal*, i. 38; Guilletière, *Athènes*, 197).

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Folklore de Constantinople*, 99 f.

[3] Evliya, *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 83: it must be touched by the patient three times on a Saturday.

[4] The connection between the yellow colour and the yellow disease is obvious (cf. V. de Bunsen, *Soul of a Turk*, 156 f.) Similarly in Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, 155, yellow is symbolic of (malarial) fever, red of chickenpox (*κόκκινοι*).

[5] Also *blue* objects, on account of the relation between the words for *blue* (*γαλάζιος*) and milk (*γάλα*).

[6] *Ridgeway Essays*, 167.

[7] Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 27; cf. below, p. 69

[8] I. Valavanis, **Μικρασιατικά**, 102 f.

early.'[1] Near Everek in the same district is a natural pierced rock which is traversed by persons suffering from coughs,[2] and barren women make a similar use of a natural arch near the summit of Parnassus.[3] At Gallipoli fever-patients pass through a natural hole in the rock beneath the light-house.[4] At Arta in western Greece a pierced stone called *Ζαρόπετρα* is similarly used, with the familiar rag-tying rite, by Turks and Jews.[5]

In Turkish Athens an artificial passage in the rock (called *τρύπιο λιθάρι*) above the Stadium, was similarly used for superstitious purposes, various offerings being made to the presiding spirit.[6] Similar pierced-stone cults are cited from Bosnia;[7] all, including the Cyprian cults discussed below, depend on the supposed magic virtue of pierced objects, which seems to be world-wide.

The supposed virtue of holed stones, as of other traversable pierced objects, is probably bound up with the conception of holes as 'entrances' or 'new starts.' All entrances, *quâ* beginnings, are regarded as critical points for good or evil. A sick person may be thought to 'change his luck' by the act of passage alone.

In the case of sacred objects which are acknowledged to possess beneficent influence, it is obvious that the 'change of luck' will be a change for the better. Moreover, the patient at the moment of passing through is exposed to the beneficent influence from all sides.

'Passing through' having once become familiar as a form of ritual in connection with objects admittedly sacred, a natural, if illogical, confusion leads to the assumption that 'going through holes is lucky,' and rocks and stones or other objects capable of being so traversed tend to become respected and often to accumulate sacred traditions.

In cases where the hole is not large enough to admit a person, a

[1] *Our Ride through Asia Minor*, 206. Is this a (giants') millstone (*μυλόπετρα*) promoted to a 'Stone of Speech' (*ὁμιλῶ* = speak)? Sillier things have happened.

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. Pop. de l'Asie Mineure*, 338.

[3] From Mr. Cole of the Lake Copais Company.

[4] Constantinides, **Καλλίπολις**, 76.

[5] Byzantios, **Δοκίμιον τῆς Ἄρτης**, 367: *ἐν αὐτῇ φέροντες διαβιβάζουσιν χάριν ἰάσεως τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλιμπάνοντες* (!) *πᾶν αὐτῶν εἶδος φορέματος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θέσει.* The nature of the aperture (natural or artificial) in this stone, is not stated. The stone itself is 2·00 m. high, and 1·00 m. broad.

[6] Hobhouse, *Travels*, i. 325; Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes*, 36; Kambouroglous, **Ἱστορία Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας**, 224.

[7] *Wiss. Mitth. aus Bosnien*, iv. 434 f.

smaller object may be passed through, and, having absorbed the virtue of the sacred object, transfer it by close juxtaposition to the supplicant. Thus at the grave of Tchetim Tess Baba, an *abdal* or 'fool-saint' buried at Monastir, both head- and foot-stones are pierced with holes. Women desirous of children pass through these holes two eggs which they afterwards eat. Wounds which refuse to heal are cured by a bandage which has been through the same process.

C.—STONES WITH NATURAL MARKINGS.

Stones bearing miraculous markings, especially footprints, find prototypes for Islam in the footprints of Abraham at Mecca,[1] of the Prophet at Constantinople[2] and Jerusalem,[3] of the Prophet's camel on Sinai,[4] and of his mule at Medina.[5] The imprints of the foot of Hadji Bektash at Croia and Shiah in Albania,[6] and of his hand at Sidi Ghazi,[7] of Sheikh Shaban's hand at his *tekke* near Caesarea,[8] and of Demir Pehlivan Baba's in Bulgaria[9] are local relics of the same sort. The hoofprint of the prophet Khidr's horse was formerly shewn at a *tekke* in Pontus.[10] The well-known imprint of the hand of Mahommed II. in S. Sophia is perhaps the best-known instance. This, according to Elworthy, has attained to a cult among the vulgar by a confusion of Mahommed the Conqueror with Mahommed the Prophet, and is invoked for protection against the Evil Eye.[11] The 'sweating column' in the same mosque owes its curative powers to the hole made in it by the finger of the Prophet Khidr.[12]

In Eastern Christianity we may perhaps regard the 'Footprint of

[1] Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 267.

[2] *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii. 57. It was deposited in the Mosque of Eyoub by Sultan Mahmoud I. (1730–54).

[3] Le Strange, *Palestine*, 136.

[4] Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, i. 146.

[5] Goldziher, *Arch. f. Religionsw.* xiv. 308.

[6] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 240; Ippen, *Skutari*, 77.

[7] Mordtmann, **Σύλλογος ΚΠ., Παραρτ. τοῦ θ.' τόμου**, xv.

[8] Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Trad. Pop. de l'Asie Mineure*, 212.

[9] Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, 536.

[10] Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, i. 10. Similar 'hoof-prints' are shewn as those of the horse of the saint Ali Baba at Tomoritza in Albania (Baldacci, *Bull. R. Soc. Geogr.* 1915, 978).

[11] Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, 251.

[12] *Q. D. Palestinavereins*, xvii. 303. This column has also a Christian legend connecting it with S. Gregory (Lethaby, *S. Sophia*, 102).

Christ,' formerly shewn to pilgrims in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem[1] as the prototype of this class of venerated stones. In modern Greece a reputed hoofmark in the rock at Philiatra (in Triphylia) is attributed to the mule of the Virgin, who appeared there,[2] and in Crete a similar mark is pointed out as the imprint of S. Nicetas' winged horse,[3] another as that of the horse of the secular hero Digenes.[4]

The imperishable nature and obvious interpretation of such stones, if characteristically marked, tends to secure their local veneration regardless of changes in the religion of their *clientèle*. The footprint in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, earlier attributed to Christ, is obviously the same as that held under Mussulman administration to be that of the Prophet, and probably served in Jewish times as that of Abraham.[5] A 'footprint' in Georgia is held by various parties at one and the same time to be that of the legendary queen Tamar, of a Christian priest flying from persecution, and of a Mahommedan saint who converted the district to Islam. It is thus venerated by all, irrespective of their creed.[6]

II.—WORKED STONES

Stones venerated on account of work upon them are divided into two main categories, shaped stones and inscribed stones.

A.—STATUES AND RELIEFS.

Stones carved with figures, *i.e.*, statues and reliefs, need hardly be considered on the Mahommedan side, since the prohibition of images by Islam has taken deep root in the popular mind. Exceptional, if not unique, is the cult formerly attaching to a headless Roman statue still preserved in a fountain outside the Valideh Mosque at Candia, which was supposed to represent a Moslem warrior saint turned to stone by Christian

[1] Petrus Diaconus, in Geyer, *Itin. Hieros.* 107: 'Super saxum posuit dominus Iesus pedem suum quando eum Symeon accepit in ulnis, et ita remansit pes sculptus, ac si in cera positus esset.' Another footprint of Christ was shewn on the Mount of Olives (Didron, *Christian Iconography*, ii. 217).

[2] Polites, Παραδόσεις, No. 192.

[3] *Ibid.* No. 199.

[4] *Ibid.* No. 120.

[5] A pre-Crusading Moslem account (1047) of the Rock says that the footprint was then said to be that of Abraham (Le Strange, *Palestine*, 128).

[6] Palgrave, *Ulysses*, 74.

magic.[1] Popular feeling among Mussulmans is, as a rule, against images; there is a tradition that angels will not enter where there is a semblance of a man,[2] and another to the effect that *complete* statues are the abode of devils.[3] This leads to their mutilation, sometimes even against the owner's interest.[4] At the same time it is not uncommon to find statues or reliefs held in considerable superstitious respect by Moslems as the abode of *djinns* possessed of power[5]; but this power is evoked by secular magic.

The Moslem or Semitic view of 'graven images' has not been without its influence on the Eastern Churches, which officially prohibit statues and reliefs of sacred persons. In practice, however, ancient reliefs are occasionally objects of Christian cult, even inside the church, as for example the fairly numerous reliefs of the Thracian horseman used as *eikons* of S. George in Thrace.[6] At the village church of Luzhani in lower Macedonia, Mr. Wace tells me, a horseman-relief is built into the low wall dividing the women's gallery from the main building. The top of the relief is covered with the grease of votive candles, as the relief has a reputation for curing earache, neuralgia, etc., in children: the face of the horseman is washed, and the water used (*ἀπόνιμμα*) applied to the ailing part. It is significant that the church is dedicated to S. Demetrius, a

[1] Pashley, *Crete* (1837), i. 194: 'In this city the devout Mohammedan women burn incense every Friday, and some of them suspend bits of rag, and similar votive offerings, to honour an ancient statue . . . The tradition current among them is that the saint was an Arab, to whose dress the ancient robe of the statue bears some resemblance, and that he greatly distinguished himself during the famous siege of the Kástron [*i.e.* Candia].' The statue is figured on p. 186 of Pashley's work. Cf. also Spratt, *Crete* (1865), i. 44: 'The bust [!] of a Roman statue, at a fountain within the town . . . is . . . decorated and paid reverence to by some of the Turkish devotees every Friday, . . . besides having a lamp with oil or incense set before it also . . . I was informed that it [*i.e.*, this worship] is due to a belief amongst the superstitious, that it is the petrified remnant of a sainted Ethiopian Musulman who was killed in the war, and whose head and lower members were cut off by the Christians, but who is destined to rise to life when the Ghiaour are to be exterminated from the island.' The statue is still (1915) as Pashley saw it, except that the flesh parts and lower draperies have been *painted black*, evidently to shew that the saint was an 'Arab': the cult is discontinued, though the lighting of lamps and candles at the place by negro women is still remembered. Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, ii. 765, cites also Chourmouzes, **Κρητικά**, 57 in this connection.

[2] Cantemir, *Emp. Ott.* tr. Joncquières, i. 184.

[3] D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, i. 45: 'Ils prétendent que les statuës des hommes et des femmes sont en droit de contraindre les ouvriers qui les ont faites de leur donner une âme, & que cela ne se pouvant pas faire, . . . les diables se nichent & se servent de ces corps pour molester les hommes, mais que pour les empêcher, il n'y a qu'à les mutiler & les défigurer, & que les diables les voyant en cet état, les méprisent, les ont en horreur & vont chercher à se loger autre part.'

[4] Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i. 82.

[5] For instances see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 500; Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, 95, n. 3.

[6] Dumont, *Mélanges*, 219; Mertzides, **Αἱ χῶραι τοῦ παρελθόντος**, 41.

cavalier like S. George. But reliefs of purely secular subjects may be consecrated by their position in churches. Such is the white marble relief of a nude woman, powdered fragments of which, drunk in water, are used as a milk-charm at the monastery of Poyani in Albania.[1] But the virtue of a relief is not dependent on such a position, but only enhanced or consecrated by it, and a secular relief placed in no relation to a church may be thought to have power, among Christians as among Moslems.

A relief of the Dioscuri by the village spring at Levetzova (Laconia), which was supposed to represent local spirits, was venerated by Christian villagers almost in our own day without coming into the sphere of the church at all.[2] The same is true of the so-called 'Demeter' statue worshipped by the peasants at Eleusis for good crops.[3] Clarke, the discoverer of this reputed survival of Demeter worship, rightly observes that the connection with the crops is based on the supposition that certain ornaments on the *polos* headdress of the figure represented ears of corn; the statue is, in fact, no longer thought to be a Demeter.[4] In all probability the finding of the statue chanced to coincide with an abundant harvest and the inference was (*post hoc, ergo propter hoc*) that the talisman was 'white' or favourable.

A somewhat similar case is related from Byzantine Constantinople. In the course of building operations for a palace of Romanus I., a marble bull's head was discovered, which was burnt for lime. The destruction of the talisman (as the event proved the bull's head to be) resulted in recurrent epidemics among cattle all over the empire.[5]

In all these secular cults of statues and reliefs the underlying idea is that the figures represent spirits enchanted for a purpose, good or evil, who have power, within the limits of their enchanter's intentions, and may be placated by a certain ritual. On the Moslem side, as we have seen, owing to the religious ban on representations of the human form, their activity is normally conceived of as maleficent, and their cult is placation.

[1] Patsch, *Das Sandschak Berat*, i. 154; cf. above p. 64.

[2] L. Ross, *Wanderungen durch Griechenland*, ii. 242.

[3] E. D. Clarke, *Travels*, II. vi. 601 f.; Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, No. 139, and note.

[4] Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, 242.

[5] M. Glycae, *Annales*, 304 P: *τῶν θεμελίων καταβαλομένων, βούς, φασίν, εὑρεθῆναι μαρμαρινοῦ κεφαλήν· ἣν εὑρόντες καὶ συντριψάντες εἰς τὸν τοῦ τιτάνου κάμινον βάλλουσιν. ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ μέχρι τῶν τῇδε χρόνων οὐκ ἐπαύσατο πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς ὁπόσην ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων περιέχει δυναστεία, τὰ τῶν βοῶν διαφθείρεσθαι γένη.*

B.—COLUMNS, ETC.

An important and interesting group of worked stones which owe their superstitious veneration to their shape is formed by the upright pierced monoliths used for superstitious purposes by the inhabitants in various parts of Cyprus.[1] Of these some are used by women desirous of children, who seat themselves on the top of the stone, others by fever patients with the usual rag-tying ceremony; in other cases sick children and barren women are passed through the holes in the stones. So far as these practices have a connection with religion this is due to the proximity of the stones to churches. One stone is (unofficially) canonised as Ἁγία Τρυπημένη ('S. Bored').[2] When these pierced monoliths were first discovered (at Paphos), the usual extravagant hypotheses of 'survivals' were put forward.[3] Subsequent researches by Guillemard and Hogarth have made it clear that they are parts of ancient oil-presses,[4] and that as many as fifty of them exist in various parts of the island; of these only a very small proportion are used for any superstitious purpose. 'The belief in the mysterious virtues of these monoliths,' Hogarth concludes, 'exists in so few cases, and is so weak even in those few, that it may be fairly argued that it is only of modern origin and has not had time even yet to develop into a universal tenet.'[5]

The arbitrary selection of certain stones of this kind for superstitious purposes, and the variation in the ritual attaching to them is probably due to local dealers in magic. All have a certain *a priori* eligibility, both as pierced stones (see above) and also, to a certain extent, as columnar stones.

Any isolated upright stone or column, if at all conspicuous, is apt to attract superstitious reverence. The underlying idea is doubtless that such isolated columns mark places where talismans or objects enchanted for a definite purpose, generally prophylactic, are buried. Most of the talismans

[1] Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 46 ff. cf. 41.

[2] This is interesting as an example of popular canonization by Christians exactly on Turkish lines. The Turks frequently anthropomorphise haunted places and objects they venerate in the same way and Ἁγία Τρυπημένη is exactly paralleled by *Delikli Baba*. The sex in the present case is due to the gender of πέτρα.

[3] Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 189.

[4] Some light is shed on the method of working these by Macalister's discovery at Gezer (*Q.S.P.E.F.* 1909, Pl. 2).

[5] *Devia Cypria*, 52. The stones at Paphos are figured by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche aus Cypern*, Pl. 17), who adheres to the old theory of their ancient religious use (p. 40).

of Constantinople cited by Evliya[1] are connected with columns. The Column of Constantine was supposed already in Byzantine times to cover the Palladium and other relics,[2] and to be on this account in a special sense the Luck of the city.[3] A solemn burying of the talismans against plague in honour of S. Charalambos under a column in Athens little more than a century ago is recorded by Kambouroglous.[4] Similarly when a place in Zante was discovered accidently to be haunted, the remedy was to set up there a column marked with a cross.[5] The same connection between column and talisman is probably to be discerned in the account of an inscribed porphyry column discovered at Constantinople in 1563 and deposited as a precious thing in the treasury of the Grand Signior.[6]

A column of a sacred building, if conspicuous for any peculiarity, may evolve its own cultus. Cases are to be found in the 'sweating' column of S. Sophia, mentioned above, and in the column in the Mosque of the Groom at Cairo, to be cited later.

Columns may easily be brought within the pale of Christianity by the analogy of the Column of Christ's scourging. This *motif* is employed to sanctify the superstitious cûlt of a column at Paphos, at which S. Paul is said to have been scourged; the imprint of his hand appears on it, with curious inconsequence, on *S. John's* day.[7]

A column in a church[8] at Athens sacred to S. John is well known for its cures of fevers. According to local tradition S. John himself buried the

[1] *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, i. 16 ff.; Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Folklore de Constantinople*, 1 ff.

[2] See Ducange, *C. P. Christiana*, 76 P, and the same author's notes to Anna Comnena, 382–3 P. A prophylactic service at the column, in which the Emperor and Patriarch took part, was performed 'according to ancient custom' in 1327 (Niceph. Greg. viii. 15).

[3] Ducas, 289–90 B; Chalcondyles, 397 B.

[4] **Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων**, ii. 183 (cited by M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, 71), from a contemporary note of 1792.

[5] Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, 510: *'s τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον γιατὶ εἶναι κακός, ἔβαλαν μία κολόννα μὲ ἕνα σταυρὸ ἀπάνου.*

[6] **Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων**, vii. 176 (201), 1563: *Μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ς′ τοῦ αφξγ′ ἔτους, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἐπί τινος χήρας Εὐλῆ γυναικός, ὀρύσσοντές τινες πρὸς τὸ αὐξῆσαι τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, ἐκεῖ εὗρον κίονα πορφυροῦν, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔχοντα ποδῶν μ̄ε̄, τὸ δὲ πλάτος σπιθαμῶν ῑς̄. Ἐγκεκόλαπτο δὲ παρὰ τῇ κεφαλῇ ταυτὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα* ΕΡΓΝΕC. *Εὐθέως μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς προστάξας ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῦτον ἐκόμισαν· ὃν ἰδὼν λίαν ἐθαύμασε· ὡς μέγα δὲ καὶ πολύτιμον χρῆμα, τοῖς βασιλικοῖς αὖτον θησαυροῖς ἐναπέθετο.*

[7] Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 8.

[8] Seventeenth century writers speak of this column as dedicated to S. John, evidently before the building of a church.

spirits or talismans of fever and other sicknesses under the column.[1] The ritual of the cure is as follows. The patient, having made his vow, takes a thread, 'measures' it on the eikon of S. John, and cuts off a corresponding length.[2] He wears this thread for three nights tied round his arm and then affixes it with wax to the column.

A similar miraculous column exists built into the church of the Virgin at Areopolis in Mani. Fever patients drink scrapings of it in water with a waning moon.[3]

Columnar stones are similarly brought into the pale of Islam by connecting them with saints. Of such a stone, sixteen feet high, near Kotch Hissar, Ainsworth tells a pretty story to the effect that a mosque was once being erected in a neighbouring village and good Musulmans were contributing to it by the voluntary labour of bringing stones. A pious girl was enabled by her faith to transport this huge stone to the spot where it now rests. Here a young man appeared to her and told her 'God had accepted her services and was well pleased': the girl died on the spot and was buried beneath the stone.[4] Evidently she was one of the unknown 'saints of God,' the mysterious messenger being in all probability Khidr. A cult or superstitious use of this stone is not mentioned.

A rather more complicated story explains the pillar worshipped at a Bektashi *tekke* near Uskub in Macedonia.[5] The saint Karadja Achmet is said to have brought this stone, together with his own head, which had been cut off in a war, to the spot where it is now. A woman exclaiming at the extraordinary sight, the saint put down his head and the stone at the site of the present *tekke*.[6] Whatever its origin, the pillar is in

[1] Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, No. 155; M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, 65 ff.; Rodd, *Customs of Modern Greece*, 167; Kambouroglous, **Ἱστορία Ἀθηναίων**, i. 221, is the source of all.

[2] This part of the ritual seems to have escaped the notice of former writers. The idea is of some antiquity (see Weyh, **Μέτρον λαμβάνειν**, in *Byz. Zeitschr.* xxxii. 164 ff.), and has parallels elsewhere in modern Greece.

[3] Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, ii. 764, citing **Πανδωρα**, xxii. 336.

[4] *Travels*, i. 187. A similar story, with a less religious colouring, is told of the 'Maiden's Stone' (Column of Marcian) at Constantinople (Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Folklore de Constantinople*, 107 f.).

[5] See Evans in *J. H. S.* xxi. 200 ff., who says that one version of the stone's history was that it was brought by a holy man from Bosnia, without details.

[6] F. W. H. This story is a broken-down version of that told of the Bosnian saint, Hazreti Ali, whose head was cut off by his father for an alleged intrigue (after the model of Joseph and Zuleika) with his father's young wife. The saint, who was of course innocent, walked with his head in his hand till, a woman exclaiming at the sight, his head fell and *his father was turned into stone*—but was afterwards resuscitated by the virtue of the saint (*Wiss. Mitth. aus Bosnier*, i. 462).

its present position part of the regular ritual furniture of a Bektashi house of prayer.

Some similar hagiological legend in all probability attaches (or will attach) to an ancient column composed of four drums and a base on the site of Tyana in Asia Minor. This column is a fairly exact Moslem parallel to that of S. John at Athens. Persons suffering from fever visit it in the morning, taking with them a holy man who recites some prayers, after which the patient ties a rag of his clothing to a nail and drives the nail into the joints of the column.[1]

A good example of the plain 'shaped stone' class is afforded by the stones at Konia associated with the tomb of the Imam Baghevi. These are two drums of an angle-pillar from a classical colonnade. The pillar, which formed the junction between two ranges of columns set at right angles, had its two *antae* worked as half-columns, so that the section of each drum is heart-shaped. With the angle uppermost the two drums present some resemblance to a saddle, from which circumstance they are supposed to represent the horses of the Imam turned to stone, and cures are wrought by contact with them in the posture thus suggested.[2]

C.—WRITTEN STONES.

More numerous and more interesting are the written stones put to superstitious uses. The magical power attributed by Orientals to letters is well known.[3] As historical examples of talismanic written stones in Asia Minor, may be quoted the inscription supposed to have been carried off by Haroun-al-Rashid from Angora,[4] and another, composed at the request of Ala-ed-din I. for the protection of the walls of Konia by the mystic poet Jelal-ed-din Roumi.[5] Christian Miletus was similarly protected by a magic inscription,[6] and the Rhodian knights, in a like spirit, engraved the lintel

[1] Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii. 111. 'Le malade vient le matin, accompagné d'un iman qui récite quelques prières ; après quoi le malade déchire une petite partie de son vêtement, et la cloue dans un des joints de la pierre ; cela s'appelle clouer la fièvre. Les joints de la colonne sont criblés de clous plantés dans le même but.'

[2] F. W. H.

[3] On this see Hastings' *Dict. of Religion*, art. *Charms* (*Muhammadan*).

[4] Hadji Khalfa, tr. Armain, 703.

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 40,

[6] *C.I.G.* 2895. Cf. also the prophylactic inscription on the land-walls of Constantinople (Millingen, *Walls of Constantinople*, 100), and for the general use of prophylactic charms on Syrian buildings of the early Christian period, Prentice in *American Exped. to Syria*, iii. 17 ff.

of the chief gate at their castle of Boudroum with the charm-text, *Nisi Dominus Custodierit*, etc.[1]

In the seventeenth century more than one gate of Constantinople was protected by stone cannon-balls 'hang'd up over severall gates . . . *with Turkish writing upon them*.'[2]

Turning to the use of charm-inscriptions in modern life, we find Mahommedan houses customarily protected by the apotropaic *Mashallah*, and both houses and ships by the 'lucky' names of the Seven Sleepers.[3] Greek Christian houses are frequently protected by the device $\frac{IC}{NI}\left|\frac{XC}{KA}\right.$ over the door. Apotropaic charms, written on paper or metal, which are a similar expression of belief in the magic potency of letters, are often worn suspended round the neck by Orientals, either for good luck generally or as cures for disease.

It is obvious that such magic is devised to serve its masters. Christian magic may naturally be regarded as hostile to Mahommedans, which accounts for the frequent mutilation of the crosses on Christian buildings after a Turkish conquest. Similarly at Smyrna the well-known inscription over the gate of the Byzantine castle,[4] the sense of which is quite innocent, was removed in 1827, and, despite liberal offers from archaeologists anxious for its preservation, built into the new barracks; but not before the letters had been deliberately chiselled out,[5] evidently with the intention of abolishing its magic power, conceived of as *a priori* hostile to Moslems since it was associated with a Christian building. In the same spirit the Turkish proprietor of a village near Uskub gave a general order that 'written stones' found on his premises should be thrown into the river, 'all such being works of the Devil and the cursed Giaour.'[6]

[1] Newton, *Halicarnassus*, ii. 637.

[2] Covel, *Diaries*, ed. Bent, 217. Covel probably refers to the two gates (S. Romanus and S. Barbara) now known as *Top Kapoussi*: this has generally been translated 'Cannon Gate,' but the primary meaning of *top* is not 'cannon,' but 'ball.' Gates, as entries, are specially in need of protection, just as all entries and the beginnings of new enterprises are regarded as potentially dangerous. The *inscribed* cannon-ball is, of course, a 'reinforced' amulet: for globular objects used as a protection against the evil eye in the east, see Hildeburg, *Man*, 1913, 1 ff. (Egypt), and cf. Rycaut, *Present State of the Turkish Empire*, 40 (a golden ball suspended over the entrance to the Imperial divan).

[3] Falkener, *Ephesus*, 158; von Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii. 60; Prokesch, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i. 395. The Seven Sleepers patronise especially the shipping of the Black Sea (C. White, *Constantinople*, i. 187).

[4] *C.I.G.* 8749. [5] Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii. 395. [6] Evans in *Archaeologia*, xlix. 86.

On the other hand, examples of ancient inscriptions which are supposed to have beneficial powers are numerous; these powers, needless to say, have no connection whatever with the nature of the inscription. The colossal inscribed block from the monument of a certain Caius Vibius at Philippi is used by many women who stop at the adjacent *khan* as a milk-charm,[1] fragments of it being broken off, powdered, and drunk in water.[2] Its selection is of course merely due to its conspicuousness and the presence on it of a supposed written charm.

At Tatar Bazarjik (Eastern Roumelia) a Greek *stele* inscribed with a proxeny decree (called *Yessir Tashi* or 'Slave's stone') is used by sick, and (as usual) especially fever-stricken,[3] persons for cure. Patients scrape the stone, as at Philippi, tie a rag of their clothing to it, and leave a *para* on it in payment. The stone is supposed to mark the grave of a saint who in his lifetime ('four hundred years ago') was a Christian slave turned Moslem; he ordered the stone to be placed on his grave.[4]

A 'stone font or holy water stoup' with a Christian inscription in the interstices of a cross is similarly used to charm away disease at Eldjik in Galatia;[5] here the patient drives in a nail to 'hold down' the disease, a ritual act analogous to the universal tying of rags to sacred trees and saints' tombs. At Eldjik the cross has been left intact and is probably thought to be part of the charm.

A somewhat similar Christian example of a pagan stone pressed into the service of religion and to some extent adopted by the church, is the famous Sigaean inscription, which was long kept at the church of Yenishehr for the cure of ague. Patients were rolled on it, while the priest read an appropriate Christian exorcism.[6] This stone was probably selected, in a

[1] Heuzey et Daumet, *Macédoine*, i. 45.

[2] F. W. H. A sinking on the top of this stone is said to be the hoof-print (ἀχνάρι) of Bucephalus.

[3] According to V. de Bunsen (*Soul of a Turk*, 175), fever is one of the few diseases which cannot be cured by prayer. Its intermittent character encourages the idea that it is the work of a capricious *djinn*.

[4] Tsoukalàs, **Περιγραφὴ Φιλιππουπόλεως** (Vienna, 1851), 65; Dumont in *Mélanges Dumont*, 201, 322. The Christian slave may be introduced into the legend, since the letters of the supposed magic inscription are Greek.

[5] Anderson in *J.H.S.* xix. 88. The inscription in the arms of the cross, read by the editor ΕΠ|ΜΟ|ΝΟΥ|ΗС, may have been intended for ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ: for this word as a charm, see Prentice, *Amer. Exped. to Syria*, iii. 21.

[6] Lechevalier, *Troy*, 17; Walpole, *Memoirs*, 97.

district where inscriptions are common, on account of the unusual, and to ordinary people illegible, character of its archaic lettering.[1]

In a Bulgarian church near Monastir Chirol was shewn a Greek inscription much worn by the knees of the faithful, which, the priest informed him, it was no use trying to read, since it was 'written in the devil's language.' Nevertheless it was considered 'an excellent stone for exorcising evil spirits.'[2] Here it would seem that the spirit or magic of the stone was originally 'black' but had been, as it were, harnessed to serve the church.

III.—SURVIVAL OR DEVELOPMENT OF STONE CULTS.

The selection of ancient inscriptions as objects of superstition is exceedingly capricious. In general, Anatolian peasants are apt to consider that inscriptions are a secret guide to treasure hidden in or near the stone on which the letters are written.[3] This idea, however, evokes no reverence for inscribed stones, and they are often split open without scruple to find the supposed treasure.[4] But even this degree of mystery does not attach to all inscribed stones. At Aezani (Phrygia), where inscribed *stelae* of the 'door' type are very common, they are habitually used as washing-blocks by the women of the village. Unfamiliarity, therefore, seems certainly one condition of the selection both of 'treasure' stones and of 'healing' stones. The interest shewn by 'Frank' travellers is another. But the ultimate choice of such stones for reverence or superstitious regard probably depends on pure accident. The following story, told me in Thrace, illustrates the ordinary attitude of the peasant's mind toward them. A Bulgarian peasant, living between Viza and Kirk Kilisse, found an inscribed stone, which he took to his house. His wife used it as a washing-block, but was at once visited by terrifying dreams and the farm animals began to die. Next the mother-in-law of the peasant trod on the stone and broke it; she died shortly after. The peasant, getting frightened,

[1] So also the irregular character of the lettering gave a magic reputation to an inscription seen by Lucas at Stenimachos in Bulgaria (*Voyage de la Grèce*, i. 192, cf. 198).

[2] V. Chirol, '*Twixt Greek and Turk*, 67 (no political significance need be attached to the priest's words!).

[3] For (statues and) inscriptions regarded as marking places where treasure is buried, see Polites' note on his **Παραδόσεις**, No. 408.

[4] For an instance, see *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* 1886, 95.

took the stone back to the place where he found it, and offered sacrifice (*coûrban*) upon it. A Greek passing by saw the newly-shed blood and enquired the reason of the sacrifice; having heard the tale, he made light of it, put the stone on his horse, and rode away with it. But the ill-luck followed him and his horse went blind. The moral is of course that the stone was bewitched or *djinn*-haunted (στοιχειωμένον) and was one of those best left alone.[1] A run of good luck following its acquisition, on the other hand, might have proved its title to superstitious reverence, if not to adoption by religion.

The origins of such cults as these depend not on tradition but on coincidence. The chance of finding a 'survival,' *i.e.*, a stone venerated continuously from ancient times to our own, is so slight as to be negligible. It is only by chance that altars or votive *stelae* are preferred to monuments of a purely secular character.

Supposed 'survivals' of this kind will not bear examination any more than the Cyprian monoliths. Ramsay, in his *Pauline Studies*,[2] mentions a written stone used by Turks for superstitious purposes, for which he claims that its cult was continuous from antiquity. His account is as follows:—'Three or four miles from Pisidian Antioch we found in a village cemetery an altar dedicated to the god Hermes. On the top of the altar there is a shallow semicircular depression, which must probably have been intended to hold liquid offerings poured on the altar, and which was made when the altar was made and dedicated. A native of the village . . . . told us that the stone was possessed of power, and that if anyone who was sick came and drank of the water that gathered in the cup, he was forthwith cured of his sickness. This belief has lasted through the centuries; it has withstood the teaching and denunciation of Christians and Mahommedans alike,' etc. etc.

The fact of the cultus or folklore practice attached to this stone is clear enough, but some of Ramsay's inferences are more than disputable. If, as seems beyond doubt, this inscribed stone is Sterrett's No. 349, a quadrangular *cippus* with inscription recording the dedication of *a Hermes*,[3]

[1] A very similar mediaeval Greek story of an enchanted stone, which was dug up by accident and brought ill-luck, is given by Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, ii. 1139 f., though here the stone does not appear to have had an inscription. The aid of the church was called in to conjure the spirits back into the stone, after which it was again buried.

[2] vi. (*The Permanence of Religion*, etc.), 156 ff.

[3] *Wolfe Expedition* (*P. Amer. School*, iii.), p. 218 (Altü Kapü). The text runs: ὁ δεῖνα | Διο⌈μήδου⌉[s] | Ἑρμῆν | ἀνέθηκεν.

i.e., a statue of Hermes, the stone was never an altar except in form. There is, therefore, no reason to refer the beginnings of its cultus-use to ancient times. It was most probably selected as a suitable stone for a grave and transported in recent times to the Turkish cemetery. The hollow on the top of the 'altar' probably dates in its present form only from the adaptation of the stone to its use as a tombstone; previously it may have had some kind of sinking for the attachment of the statue of Hermes alluded to in the inscription. Circular sinkings are commonly made on Turkish tombstones; the reason usually given is that birds are enabled to drink of the rain and dew that collects in them.[1] Further, Turkish *Jews* have a superstition that the dew which collects on tombstones cures children of fainting fits.[2] This belief is possibly borrowed from, probably shared by, the Turks. It will be seen that this reduces the fact that the stone is inscribed with the name of a god to a mere accident. Its potency comes primarily from its use as a tombstone and is probably reinforced by the fact that it has an inscription not 'understanded of the people,' and therefore assumed to be of a magical character.

Sir Arthur Evans found at Ibrahimovce, near Uskub (Macedonia), a Roman altar dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which was used by the villagers as a rain-charm. It is generally kept face downward, but in times of drought Christians and Mahommedans, headed by a local Bey, go together to the stone, and having restored it to its upright position, pour libations of wine on the top, praying the while for rain.[3] Evans remarks that the procedure here has no parallels in ordinary Slavonic folk-usage, and suggests that the use of the altar has been continuous since Roman times. But, while the practice of wetting the rain-charm is world-

[1] C. White, *Constantinople*, i. 319, iii. 367; Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii. 423. According to Skene (*Wayfaring Sketches*, 218), the hollows are looked upon as affording the dead a means of practising the virtue of charity to the animal world: in Syria they are said to be 'for souls to drink out of' (*Q. S. Pal. Expl. F.* 1893, 217). There may be a reminiscence of the basins placed to feed the pigeons of the Kaaba at Mecca (Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 277); pigeons are a feature of Turkish cemeteries and sacred birds, since a pigeon is supposed, according to one account, to have inspired Mahommed (Varthema in Burton's *Meccah*, ii. 352). For the sacredness of pigeons in Turkey, see Carnoy and Nicolaïdes, *Traditions de Constantinople*, 7.

[2] *Onzième Congrès d'Orientalistes* (Paris, 1897), sect. vii. 264. Cf. the analogous medicinal use of water from a cup which has been buried for three years on a dead body (Blunt, *People of Turkey*, ii. 145). In Bosnia the rain-water which collects in a hollow of a stone—apparently natural—selected for veneration for reasons unknown to us, is drunk by sick peasants for cure. The broad principle underlying all such uses is that the absorption by swallowing not only of parts of a sacred object, but of things which have been in contact with it, is beneficial.

[3] *Archaeologia*, xlix. 104.

wide, the Roman rain-rituals he cites as parallels do not include libation. In all probability this stone has been found in comparatively recent times, and the 'Frankish' writing on it, from some combination of circumstances unknown to us, interpreted as a rain-charm, the ritual being prescribed by a local dervish or sorcerer. On this particular case some light is thrown by the peasants' beliefs regarding a 'written stone' buried in a vineyard near Monastir: this was once dug up, but torrents of rain followed. It is now kept buried, because, if anyone dug it up again, *it would never stop raining*.[1] The more accommodating *djinn* who presides over the stone at Ibrahimovce can be so placated as to bring about a sufficient, but not excessive, rainfall when required.

The idea of rain-making 'written stones,' it may be remarked, is familiar to the Turks, since Turk, their eponymous ancestor, is said to have received from his father Japhet (who, in turn, inherited it from Noah) a stone engraved with the name of God which had the property of causing and stopping rain. This particular stone has been lost, but stones are said to be sometimes found which possess the same properties and are supposed to have some vague connection with the original stone of Noah.[2]

A Christian stone-cult in connection with a Church of the Apostles near Preveza affords a baffling example of haphazard selection: for this stone, though venerated, is not in itself at all remarkable. We can only guess that its veneration is due to dreams and other accidental circumstances; the legend in regard to it is most unhelpful. The stone in question is preserved outside a church immediately to the left of the high road between Preveza and Yannina, about two hours from the former place. There seems no question of 'survival,' or even of antiquity, since the stone was discovered in 1867. It has been enclosed in a small, pillar-like shrine of plastered rubble of the type commonly seen on Greek roadsides. The upper part of the pillar includes the usual niche, facing west, and containing a cheap *eikon* of SS. Peter and Paul and an oil lamp. The stone itself

[1] From Mr. A. J. B. Wace; cf. his *Nomads of the Balkans*, 133.

[2] D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, s.vv. *Giourtasch* and *Turk* and *Supplement*, p. 140. A rough boulder on the summit of the Cyprian Olympus, which seems to have been vaguely connected with the ark of Noah, was formerly used as a rain-charm by the local Greeks. In times of drought it was lifted on poles, to the accompaniment of singing, by the peasants of the surrounding villages (Hackett, *Church in Cyprus*, 463, quoting Lusignan). Here the position of the stone seems to have had more to do with its selection than the stone itself. Any mountain-top is an appropriate place for watching the weather, and particularly for rain-making, since mountain-tops attract rain-clouds.

is built into the lower part of the pillar, one surface only being exposed under a niche facing south. It seems to be an ordinary unworked stone of irregular shape with two or three sinkings in its exposed surface. The whole stands in close juxtaposition to the south-east corner of the humble modern church, and is surrounded by a wooden railing with two gates. Pilgrims pass in by the eastern gate, kiss the stone, and pass out by the western gate. Incubation (for one night) is practised in the church, and the stone has a great reputation for cures, which are not confined to Christians: a Moslem shepherd, for example, is said to have cured his sick flock by passing them through the enclosure.

As to the discovery of the wonder-working stone the story told me by the priest attached to the church is as follows. A monk from a neighbouring monastery was bidden by a vision to build at this spot a church to the Holy Apostles. One of the trees cut down during the clearing of the site *bled* copiously. This was regarded as a sign from Heaven, indicating that the desired site for the church was found. A stone was placed on the stump of the tree to stop the bleeding, and it is this stone which receives the reverence of pilgrims to-day.

It is remarkable that in this legend the stone now regarded as sacred plays an entirely secondary part, and may even be regarded as receiving homage vicariously for the miraculous tree-stump it is supposed to cover.

In fact, the whole of the story betrays itself as derived from secular folklore adapted clumsily enough to account for the miraculous stone. The bleeding tree was evidently of the dangerous haunted (*στοιχειωμένον*) class[1]: the real purpose of the stone is clear from the fact that when woodcutters fell a tree of this sort they place a stone in the middle of the trunk to prevent the spirit of the tree rushing out and doing them harm.[2]

The official account of the discovery wholly ignores the marvels attending it, and fails to make plain how the virtues of the stone were recognised.[3] Its main importance for us lies in the claim that the

[1] For bleeding trees in general, see Frazer, *Golden Bough* (1900), i. 173. For a tree in Mytilene which bled when cut, see Mary Walker, *Old Tracks*, 194; and for haunted trees in Greece, Polites, **Παραδόσεις**, Nos. 323 ff.; **Λαογραφία**, i. 658. I am told by Mr. Archie Charnaud that a tree which obstructs one of the newly planned streets at Brusa was allowed, after solemn deliberation on the part of the authorities, to retain its position because it 'bled' at the first attempt to cut it down.

[2] Polites, *op. cit.* 325.

[3] S. Byzantios, **Δοκίμιον τῆς Ἄρτης καὶ τῆς Πρεβέζης** (Athens, 1884), 258 f.: *Εἰς θέσιν καλουμένην Ἄνω Λούτσαν ἔκειτο ἀρχαῖός τις ἱερὸς Ναὸς ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων 'Λιθάρι'*

sacred stone was discovered under clerical supervision less than fifty years ago.

The entire impossibility of certainty as to the age and origin of such cults, and particularly the danger of arguing from analogies, is shewn by the history of the 'Black Stone' preserved at the tomb of Daniel at Susa (Sûs). The tomb of Daniel is known to have been shewn at Susa as early as 530 A.D.[1] The 'Black Stone' was originally a block of dark marble, nearly cubical in form, bearing hieroglyphic figures in relief and cuneiform inscriptions. In the 'fifties of the last century it was held in great honour and considered bound up with the luck of the province. At that time (and probably to this day) its fragments were to be found built into one of the porticoes attached to the tomb of Daniel. It thus offered to all appearances a very fair counterpart of the broken Black Stone built into the Kaaba at Mecca, which is generally, and probably rightly, considered a relic of idolatrous worship surviving into the later cult.

By the lucky accident of frequent travellers' visits to Susa, the actual history of the Black Stone and its rise to fame is known in some detail. About 1800, the Black Stone was discovered in the mound covering the ruins of Susa, and rolled down to the river-bank by the very dervish who kept the tomb in the 'fifties. It there served for some years as a washing-block, and attracted the notice of several European travellers. Monteith and Kinneir in 1809 found it was treated with some superstitious respect,[2] and made drawings of the inscriptions. In 1811, Sir R. Gordon, who tried without success to obtain possession of the stone, found its reputation on the increase: after this, presumably for security, it was buried, then disinterred by the guardians of the tomb of Daniel. In 1812 Ouseley found it had a reputation as a talisman against plague, hostile invasion, and other evils. In 1832 a 'stranger sayyid,' supposed to be a 'Frank' in disguise,

ἐπικαλούμενος, ἕνεκα τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, ἔξω τοῦ Ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν Βῆμα, δεξιόθεν ὑπάρχοντος ἐντὸς τῆς γῆς γωνιώδους τινος λίθου, ὃν ἀπεκαλύψαμεν τῷ 1867 *ἔτει, καὶ περιεφράξαμεν διὰ Κουβουκλίου, δι' ὃν λογοποιοῦνται πολλά, καὶ δι' ὃν ἐνεργοῦνται τῇ Θεοῦ χάριτι διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῶν πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων διάφορα ἰαμάτων χαρίσματα, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑτερυθρήσκους, προσίοντας καὶ ἐπικαλουμένους τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθου σωματικὴν θεράπειαν εὐλαβῶς καὶ προσφέροντας κηρούς τε καὶ ἀλλὰ ἀφιερώματα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ θαυματουργὸς οὗτος λίθος, ὢν ἀφανής, δι' Ἀρχιερατικῆς ἐποπτείας ἀνεκαλύφθη κατὰ Ἰούλιον τοῦ εἰρημένου ἔτους, καὶ περιεφράχθη, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐδέησεν ἵνα διορθωθῇ καὶ ὁ μικρὸς καὶ πεπαλαιωμένος Ναός, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο· ἀλλὰ τούτου, ἐκ περιστάσεώς τινος εἶτα πυρποληθέντος, ἀνεκαινίσθη ἐνδοξότερος καὶ λαμπρότερος . . . ἐν ἔτει* 1871.

[1] Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Geyer, *Itin. Hieros*, 149.

[2] In Egypt and Syria ancient stones, figured and written, seem generally so treated (see Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, 95, n. 3, and 97).

blew it to pieces with gunpowder in the hope of discovering hidden treasure: this was evidently the outcome of the interest shewn in the stone by foreigners. Naturally enough, no treasure was found. But, probably from the conviction that as the stone (1) attracted Franks,[1] and (2) did not contain treasure, it must have remarkable occult powers, 'the fragments were carefully collected and reinterred within the precincts of the tomb. Immediately afterwards the province was almost depopulated by plague, the bridge at Shuster suddenly broke, and the famous dam at Hawízah was carried away; all of which disasters were, of course, ascribed to the destruction of the talisman.[2]' The rise of the stone from obscurity to great superstitious importance can thus be placed between the years 1800 and 1832.

In conclusion, having shewn how quickly a stone may rise to honour even in modern times, we may cite as a pendant the history of a suddenly arrested pillar-cult in Cairo, quite primitive in form, which rose to its climax and fell again apparently within a few days or weeks, both rise and fall being due to the arbitrary acts of definite persons.

A contemporary observer gives the following account:—

'On the line of the street from the citadel to Bab Zuileh is a mosque called Giania-el-Sais, or Mosque of the Groom. At the corner of it is a high Corinthian pillar . . . . I asked how the lower part of the pillar came to be covered over with a thick coat of plaster, and received for answer that this was the celebrated Amood-el-Metuely, which was proclaimed by a Mogrebbin Sheikh to have miraculous power, and that [*sic*] if sterile women licked it with their tongue they would become mothers.[3] All on a sudden the pillar was so besieged by people wishing to lick it that the street was blocked up and the Pasha [Mahommed Ali], hearing of the delusion, caused a guard to be set while the masons plastered and built round the lower part of it with bricks.'[4]

[1] Cf. Arundell, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i. 62 ff.

[2] Rawlinson, in *J.R.G.S.* ix. 69: for the history of the stone as given above, see further Walpole, *Travels*, 423 (with Monteith's drawing of the stone); Ouseley, *Travels*, i. 421 f.: de Bode, *Luristan*, ii. 91; Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, 416; and *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* v. (1856), 446.

[3] There seems to be a column credited with similar powers at Mediret-el-Fayoum. I know of it only from Sir Gilbert Parker's story, *The Eye of the Needle*, in *Donovan Pasha*.

[4] Paton, *Hist. of the Egyptian Revolution* (1877), ii. 276 f. This story is particularly interesting in view of the desperate efforts which have been made to find a classical past for the Athenian column of S. John.

These two 'life-histories' make it abundantly clear that a stone-cult, however primitive in type, need not be chronologically of ancient origin, even where the stone is itself ancient. Further, that a venerated stone need not represent the displaced central cultus-object of the holy-place in which it is found, but may be, as at Susa, an originally independent object attracted into the orbit of an already existing sanctuary, or, as at Cairo, a portion of an already existing sacred building arbitrarily selected for special veneration.

Our general conclusions may be tabulated somewhat as follows:—

(1) Certain kinds of stones, especially (*a*) holed stones, (*b*) columnar stones, (*c*) stones carved with figures, and (*d*) inscribed stones (irrespective of the meaning of their inscriptions), are especially likely to attract superstitious veneration.

(2) Selection from among these classes depends on such considerations as size, or other conspicuousness, backed by the coincidence of dreams, or other accidental happenings, with their discovery or use. A stone's chance of selection for veneration is greatly enhanced if it is introduced (accidentally or purposely) into (*a*) a sacred building, or (*b*) a cemetery.

(3) The ritual connected with the veneration of such stones is exactly that of other venerated objects in popular religion, chiefly forms of 'contact' or 'absorption.'

(4) Reverence for such stones, whether secular or religious, by Christians or Moslems, need not be of old standing, nor need it persist. Proved or even probable survivals from antiquity are exceedingly rare.

F. W. HASLUCK.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI.

(Plates XII, XIII.)

In the following paper an attempt has been made to bring together scattered notices from printed sources regarding the geographical distribution of the Bektashi sect, as indicated by the position of existing or formerly existing convents of the order.[1] I have further included such information on this subject as I have been able to obtain from my own journeys and enquiries (1913–15) among the Bektashi: nearly all this information is gathered from Bektashi sources, and much from more than one such source. I hope to have made a fairly complete record of Bektashi establishments in Albania, now the most important sphere of their activities, and a substantial basis for further enquiry in the other countries where the sect is to be found, with the exception of Asia Minor, for which my sources are at present inadequate.

From the evidence at our disposal the Bektashi establishments in Asia Minor would seem to be grouped most thickly in the 'Kyzylbash' or *Shia* Mahommedan districts, especially in (1) the *vilayets* of Angora and Sivas, and (2) in the south-west corner (Lycia) of that of Konia, where the *Shia* tribes are known from their occupation as *Tachtadji* ('wood-cutters'). For the third great stronghold of Anatolian *Shias*, the Kurdish *vilayets* of Kharput and Erzeroum, no information as to Bektashi *tekkes* is available. Indeed the nature of the connection between

[1] On the Bektashi and their organisation, see *B.S.A.* xx. 94 ff.

'Kyzylbash' and Bektashi is still obscure: we know only that both profess adherence to the *Shia* form of Islam, and that widely-scattered *Shia* communities acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Tchelebi[1] of the Bektashi.

In Europe, Southern Albania, with its population of Christians converted in relatively recent times to Islam, is the only country in which the Bektashi are strongly represented at the present day. Crete, where their numbers were till recently considerable, and the Kastoria district of Macedonia, present the same phenomenon of Bektashism grafted on a Christian population. Elsewhere one sees traces of successful propaganda amongst the immigrant Asiatic village communities, which were probably half-pagan and wholly nomadic at their first appearance in Europe. Such are the 'Koniari' of Southern Macedonia and Thessaly, the 'Yourouks' of the Rhodope, and the Tartars of the Dobroudja. From the number of *tekkes* traceable in the Adrianople district especially, it seems legitimate to suppose that such military centres, owing to the close connection which existed for more than two centuries between the Bektashi and the Janissaries, formed at one time important *foci* of missionary endeavour.

It seems possible to detect a characteristic variation in the types of Bektashi saint venerated in Anatolia, European Turkey, and Albania respectively.[2] In Anatolia, the typical saint is regarded as a missionary more or less closely connected with Hadji Bektash himself, and consequently, so remote as to be mythical. In European Turkey the saints are again remote and ancient, being referred to the period of the Turkish conquest: but they are regarded primarily as warriors rather than as missionaries. This points to the development of Bektashism in these countries under the auspices of the Janissary-Bektashi combination in the sixteenth and following centuries. In Albania the typical saint is again a missionary, but differs both from the 'Anatolian' and the 'Roumelian' types in laying no claim to great antiquity: the Bektashi propaganda in Albania dates confessedly from the eighteenth century and the saints are historical persons.

We may further remark as regards the position of Bektashi *tekkes* that, whereas those of other orders are generally found in, or in the

[1] See below, p. 87 f.

[2] Cf. Evliya, *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 20 f.: 'The seven hundred convents of dervishes, Begtáshí, which actually exist in Turkey, are derived from seven hundred dervishes of Hájí Begtash.'

immediate neighbourhood of, the larger centres of population, those of the Bektashi are situated, as a rule, either in quite isolated positions or on the outskirts of villages. This is due, no doubt, partly to the fact that their propaganda and influence largely touches rustic populations, and partly to the hostility with which they are regarded by the *Sunni* clergy. We may reasonably assume that between the capture of the Janissaries by the Bektashi (about 1590) and the destruction of the former (1826), the provincial garrisons of Janissaries, like that of Constantinople, had a resident Bektashi *sheikh* in their barracks, and presumably a *tekke* within easy reach. These have, since 1826, ceased to exist as such, but the saints' *mausolea* still often to be found in, or at the entrance to Turkish citadels, may very probably be a surviving remnant of original Bektashi establishments connected with the Janissaries.

We turn now to the enumeration of the *tekkes*.

I.—ASIA MINOR. (FIG. 1.)[1]

A.—VILAYET OF ANGORA.

Hadji Bektash (Pir-evi).—The reputed founder of the sect, Hadji Bektash, lies buried at the village bearing his name near Kirshehr in central Asia Minor.[2] Adjoining the tomb is a convent (*tekke*), called Pir-evi ('House of the patron Saint') which forms the headquarters of the Bektashi order and its adherents. It contains, besides the tomb of the founder, that of Balum Sultan, a very important Bektashi saint, reputed the founder of one of the four branches into which the sect is divided: his tomb is in the part of the convent devoted to the celibate (*moudjerrid*) dervishes. The *tekke* is further remarkable as containing a mosque with minaret, served by a *hodja* of the orthodox *Nakshbendi* order; this is

[1] The maps illustrating this paper were drawn by Mr. Hasluck for his own use only. They have not been re-drawn owing to difficulties due to present conditions.—(EDITOR.)

[2] Evliya says of the tomb (*Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 21): 'Hají Bektash died in Sultan Orkhán's reign, and was buried in his presence in the capital of Crimea, where a Tátár princess raised the monument over his tomb. This monument having fallen into decay Sheitán Murád, a Beg of Caesarea of Sultan Suleiman's time, restored and covered it with lead.' The 'capital of Crimea' is obviously a mistake for Kirshehr, possibly owing to the proximity of the 'Tátár princess.' At the present day the cauldrons in the kitchen of the convent, which are among the sights of the place, are said to have been given by 'the Tartar Khan,' who is curiously identified with Orkhan (*Contemp. Review*, Nov. 1913, 695).

FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP SHEWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI IN ASIA MINOR.

[*To face p.* 86.

an innovation of Mahmoud II.'s time (1826), emphasising the *Sunni* version of Hadji Bektash, which represents him as a Nakshbendi *sheikh*.[1]

The *tekke* was formerly supported by the revenues of 362 villages, the inhabitants of which were affiliated to the Bektashi order. The number of these villages has been gradually reduced on various pretexts by the government to twenty-four.[2] The revenues of the *tekke*, estimated at £60,000, are divided between the rival heads of the order, the Akhi Dede, or Dede Baba, and the Tchelebi.

Of these the former claims to be the spiritual or 'apostolic' successor of Hadji Bektash. He resides in the convent of Hadji Bektash and exercises authority over it and over one part of the Bektashi organisation. The Albanian and Cretan Bektashi, for example, recognise him as their supreme head, and the appointments of their *sheikhs* must be ratified by him. This branch of the order seems to be entirely in the hands of the Albanians: the late abbot, Faisi Baba, was from Albania, as are the two candidates for the still vacant position.[3]

Under the Dede Baba are eight other Babas, each having a separate 'residency' (*konak*), who preside over the various departments of work carried on in the *tekke*, directing the labours of the probationers under them. Their respective spheres are the buttery (*Kilerdji Baba*), the bakery (*Ekmekdji Baba*), the kitchen (*Ashdji Baba*), the stables (*Atadji Baba*), the guest-house (*Mehmandar Baba*), the mausoleum of Balum Sultan (*Balum Evi*), and the vineyards (*Dede Bagh*, *Hanbagh*).

The Tchelebi (at present Djemal Effendi) claims to be the actual descendant of Hadji Bektash and *de jure* the supreme head of the order. His office is hereditary in his family though the succession is not from father to son, the senior surviving brother of a deceased Tchelebi taking precedence of his eldest son. He lives outside the convent and is employed in the administration of the property of the foundation. His genealogy is disputed by the party of the Dede Baba, who, holding that Hadji Bektash had no children, regard him as an impostor. They explain his alleged

[1] The *tekke* of Hadji Bektash has been described by P. Lucas, *Voyage en Grèce* (Amsterdam, 1714), i. 124; Levidis, **Αἱ ἐν μονολίθοις μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας**, 98; Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, i. 841; Naumann, *Vom Goldenen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrat*, 193 ff.; Prof. White in *Contemp. Review*, Nov. 1913, 693 ff. See also *B.S.A.*, xx. 102.

[2] From Cuinet, except the last figure, which he gives, no doubt correctly for his time, as 42.

[3] I hear since writing this that the choice has fallen on one Mesoud.

descent by an intermediate legend of his ancestor's miraculous birth from a woman fertilized by drinking the blood of Hadji Bektash.[1] So recently as 1909, at the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, the Tchelebi asserted his claim to be regarded as supreme head of the order by a petition to the new government to restore him his ancient rights. At present his position is recognized by the 'Kyzylbash' populations of Asia Minor, and the *sheikhs* of *tekkes* ministering to these populations are consecrated by him. These *sheikhs*, who appear to be hereditary,[2] and their flocks are looked upon with some contempt by the other branch of the Bektashi, who call them *Soufi*, and regard their organisation as lax and their doctrines as superstitious. The son of the *sheikh* of the *tekke* at Roumeli Hissar explained to me the difference between them by saying that the Kyzylbash were 'Catholics,' the true Bektashi 'Protestants'; this, coming from an old pupil of Robert College, is probably to be interpreted as meaning that the Bektashi represent a 'reformation' and have discarded what they regard as the superstitious doctrinal accretions in the faith of their backward Anatolian co-religionists.

The relations between the *Tchelebi* and the *Dede Baba* are naturally strained, but dervishes of the celibate branch are treated with respect by the married *sheikhs*.

As regards theology, the Bektashi, as opposed to the 'Kyzylbash,' claim the sixth Imam (Djafer Sadik) as their patron, while the 'Kyzylbash' hold that their priesthood descends from the fifth (Mahommed Bakir). There is also a very important distinction between the two sects as regards the religious life. The Bektashi dervishes, who form the priestly caste of their branch, are nearly without exception celibate (*moudjerrid*).[3] The

[1] Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, i. 342. The legend admitted by the celibate branch makes the woman the wife of a *hodja* and gives her name as Khatun Djikana. Another variant makes Hadji Bektash a *nefess oglou* or 'son of the breath [*sc.* of God]' (for which see George of Hungary's tract *De Moribus Turcorum* xv. *ad fin.*). Miraculous birth is alleged of many Turkish saints, especially by the 'Kyzylbash' Kurds of their Imam Bakir, who was conceived by an Armenian virgin, miraculously impregnated by the head of Hussein in the form of honey, and brought forth by a sneeze. (*Geog. Journ.* xliv. (1914), 64 f.) For other examples see Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* xv. (1900), 11, and Skene, *Anadol*, 285.

[2] Crowfoot, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx. 308, 312 (Haidar-es-Sultan and Hassan-dede). This is the rule also at the *tekke* of Sidi Battal (Ouvré, *Un Mois en Phrygie*, 94; Radet, *Arch. des Miss.* vi. (1895), 445).

[3] As such the Bektashi dervishes have a special veneration for Balum Sultan, a reforming saint who lived some two generations after Hadji Bektash and is buried at Pir-evi. Though Hadji Bektash is regarded by them as having lived unmarried, Balum Sultan is considered as the peculiar patron of the celibate branch.

'Kyzylbash,' on the other hand, have a hereditary priesthood, and their *sheikhs* are consequently of necessity married (*moutehhil*).

Now if, as there seems some reason to believe, the Bektashi represent an original tribal grouping under a chief with temporal and spiritual powers, it is probable that the *Tchelebi* represents the original hereditary chief of the tribe, who has been ousted by the superimposed celibate dervish organisation, in which the succession is 'apostolic.' The hereditary *sheikhs* or *babas* consecrated by him, again, represent the hereditary chiefs of sub-tribes or affiliated tribes; as hereditary they must of necessity be married, and this is the chief distinction between them and the mainly celibate dervishes of the other branch

The earliest mention of the *Tchelebi* of the Bektashi seems to be in connection with a rising of dervishes and Turcomans which took place in 1526–7.[1] The district affected was that of Angora[2]; the leader of the rising, generally known as Kalenderoglou, is said by some authors to have borne the title of *Zelebi*, and all are agreed that he pretended to be a descendant of Hadji Bektash. In view of the later connection between the Bektashi and Janissaries, it is worth noting that on this occasion Janissaries seem to have had no scruples about marching against the Tchelebi.

Other *tekkes* recorded in the same *vilayet* are the following:—

Beybazar (near).—West of this town, on the Sakaria, is the *türbe* (mausoleum) of Emrem Younouz Sultan, who is described by Lejean, evidently from an ignorant local informant, as 'un Sultan Koniarite qui y a été enseveli avec sa fille et ses deux fils.'[3] Emrem Younouz is in reality claimed by the Bektashi as a saint belonging to their order. There seems to be no establishment here, though the tomb is held in reverence locally.[4]

Tchorum (near).—Ten kilometres west of Tchorum, R. Kiepert's map marks (from a native source) *Sidim Sultan*. Evliya mentions the

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* v. 95; Leunclavius, *Ann. Turc. s.a.* 1526 and *Lib. Sing.* § 222; de Mezeray, *Hist. des Turcs*, i. 502.

[2] Four tribes are mentioned by name as having taken part in the rising, the Tchitchekli, Akdje Koyounlu, Massdlu, and Bozoklü: there is a Tchitchek Dagh north of the convent of Hadji Bektash, and Bozouk is the name of the district in which it stands, so that two at least of the tribes mentioned seem to be connected with the district.

[3] *Bull. Soc. Géog.* xvii. (1869), 63.

[4] Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1899, 70. For Emrem Younouz ('Younouz Imre') see Gibb (*Ottoman Poetry*, i. 164), who places him in the early fourteenth century.

place as, in his time, the site of 'a convent of bareheaded and barefooted Begtashi.'[1]

Angora (near).—On the Hussein Dâgh, a mountain east of Angora, is the tomb of Hussein Ghazi, an Arab warrior-saint adopted by the Bektashi. In Evliya's time there was a convent of a hundred Bektashi dervishes here and a much-frequented yearly festival.[2] There is now only a mausoleum (*türbe*) kept up by the Bairami dervishes of Angora.[3]

Yuzgat (near).—Here there is said to be a *tekke* at a place called Mudjur, which does not figure on our maps, but is distinct from the village of the same name near Kirshehr.

Aladja (near).—The Shamaspur *tekke*, containing a second grave of the Arab warrior Hussein Ghazi, belongs to the order, but is now abandoned.[4]

Kirshehr.—A *tekke* called Akhi-evren in this district was cited to me by a Bektashi dervish.[5] A saint of the same name, described as a companion in arms of Sultan Osman, is mentioned by Hadji Khalfa as buried at Akshehr.[6] A third (?) saint, Ahiwiran or Ahi Baba of Caesarea, buried at Denizli, is said by Evliya to be the patron of Turkish tanners. A somewhat confused anecdote apparently derives his name from *Awren*, wild beast.[7] A *tekke* of Ak Elven (*sic*) exists at Angora. The name is evidently one of those which have suffered from popular etymology. The original form may be *Akhi* + *eren*. *Eren* means 'saint,' while *Akhi* is the

[1] *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 223.

[2] Evliya, *Travels*, ii. 228, cf. Hadji Khalfa, *Djihannuma*, tr. Armain, 703.

[3] Perrot et Guillaume, *Expl. de la Galatie*, i. 283.

[4] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i. 402 f.; H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, 348; Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, 36; *Trans. Victoria Inst.* xxxix. 159; cf. *B.S.A.* xx. 104. Perrot found two or three Bektashi dervishes there in 1861 (*Souvenirs d'un Voyage*, 418).

[5] A Khalveti Saint Akhi Mirim, who died at Akshehr in 1409–10 is mentioned by Jacob (*Beiträge*, 80, n. 3): his tomb may well have changed hands, like many others; affiliation to the newcomers' order being axiomatic.

[6] *Hadji Ouren* in Armain's translation; *Hakhi Ouran* in *Menassik-el-Hadj*, 12; *Akhi Evren* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 248 (cf. Huart, *Konia*, 112, where the tomb of Seid Mahmoud *Kheïrani* at Akshehr is described).

[7] *Travels*, i$_2$. 206: '[Ahweran of Caesarea] was a great saint in the time of the Seljuk family. It is a famous story, that it having been hinted to the king that Ahibaba paid no duties, and the collectors having come to him in execution, they were all frightened away by a wild beast (Awren) starting from the middle of his shop, and which accompanied him to the king, who being equally frightened out of his wits, was very happy to allow him the permission asked, to bury the collectors killed. His tomb is a great establishment in the gardens of the town of Denizli . . . and all the Turkish tanners acknowledge this Ahúawren to be their patron.' In the last variation of the name there seems to be a play on *Ahoua*, a fabulous beast like a syren (C. White, *Constantinople*, i. 174).

Arabic for *my brother*, and has a special signification in connection with the important society or 'Brotherhood,' known already in the early fourteenth century to Ibn Batuta as a widespread social league among the Turcomans of Seljouk Asia Minor,[1] and later as a political combination of some importance.[2]

Among the Bektashi the word *Akhi* is preserved in the title of the *sheikh* of the convent of Hadji Bektash, and they had formerly at least a subdivision called the 'Brothers of Roum (*i.e.* Anatolia).[3]' It may be that at some time in their history they amalgamated with, and eventually absorbed, the Turcoman 'Brotherhood.'

Moudjour (near Kirshehr).—There is here a sacred stone guarded by a Bektashi dervish.[4]

Patouk Sultan.—This saint is buried in a village convent of the same (Kirshehr) district.

B.—VILAYET OF KONIA.

Neushehr (near).—Here there is said to be a Bektashi *tekke* containing the grave of a saint named Nusr-ed-din.

Adalia.—The order possesses a *tekke* here which seems to be of minor importance.

Elmali had formerly a *tekke* containing the tomb of Haidar Baba; this is one of the convents destroyed in 1826. The town (or district?) is also known as the burial-place of Abdal Mousa, a very celebrated saint.[5] There is a village called *Tekke* about twelve kilometres S. by W. of the town. Elmali is the centre of the district inhabited by the primitive *Shia* tribes known as *Tachtadji* ('wood-cutters'). But the lay members of the order seem here, as in Albania, to include some well-to-do landowners and town-dwellers.[6]

[1] Ibn Batuta, tr. Lee 68 ff.; tr. Sanguinetti, ii. 260 ff.

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 214. On the 'Brotherhood' see Karabashek in *Zeitschr. f. Numismatik*, 1877, 213 ff.

[3] *Akheian-i-Room* (Brown, *Dervishes*, 142): the corresponding subdivisions were the *Ghazis* (warriors), *Abdals* (asketes), and *Sisters* of Roum. In Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 108, *Achi=frater* is given as a grade in dervish communities.

[4] Cholet, *Arménie*, 48.

[5] Jacob, *Bektaschije*, 28, cf. *Beiträge*, 14, 85. See below (*Cairo*).

[6] Von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien*, ii. 203.

Gilevgi, three hours north of Elmali, has a *tekke* containing the grave of Kilerdji Baba,[1] a disciple of Abdal Mousa.

Fineka, the port of Elmali, has a *tekke* with grave of Kiafi Baba. This may be identical with the *tekke* mentioned by Petersen and von Luschan as existing on the site of Limyra: there were two dervishes here in 1884.[2]

Gul Hissar, thirty kilometres S.E. of Tcfenni, in the northern part of this district, contains a *tekke* with the grave of Yaman Ali Baba.

C.—VILAYET OF SMYRNA (AIDIN).

Smyrna.—There is now a small Bektashi *tekke* here containing the grave of Hassan Baba, in the quarter of Kiatib Oglou on the outskirts of the town. Bektashi gravestones are to be seen in the small cemetery surrounding the 'tomb of Polycarp' on the castle hill.[3]

Teire.—Here there are two *tekkes*, one of which contains the grave of Khorassanli Ali Baba.

Daouas.—Here is buried one of the successors (*khalifa*) of Hadji Bektash, Sari Ismail Sultan.

Denizli seems to be, or to have been, an important Bektashi centre. There are said to be three *tekkes* in the district. Within a radius of two hours are the tombs of the saints Teslim Sultan and Dede Sultan. At Karagatch[4] is that of Niazi [Baba].

Yatagan (near Kara Euyuk, in the south of the *Vilayet*).—A rich and important *tekke* containing the grave of a saint Jatagundie (Yatagan dede?) was visited here by Paul Lucas in the early years of the eighteenth century.[5] It was one of the Bektashi foundations destroyed in 1826, but

[1] Cf. above (Hadji Bektash).

[2] *Reisen in Lykien*, ii. 204 n. I note also, still nearer Fineka, a village *Haladj*, the name of which suggests Bektashi associations. Mansour-el-Halladj is claimed by the Bektashi as the spiritual master of their great saint Fazil Yezdan (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, 229) and a forerunner of the sect.

[3] *B.S.A.* xx. 82, n. 3.

[4] Perhaps Kabagatch, near Serai Keui, where Kiepert's map marks a *tekke*.

[5] *Voyage fait en* 1714, ii. 171 f.: 'un couvent où l'on garde précieusement le corps d'un Mahometan nommé Jatagundie, qu'on dit avoir opéré de grands merveilles dans tout le Païs. La Mosquée où il repose est très-belle & bien entretenuë; il y a dedans 60 chandeliers d'argent massif de dix pieds de haut, & un fort grand nombre de lampes d'or & d'argent. Deux çent Dervis sont emploiez au service de cette Mosquée; ils ont une Bibliothèque très-bien fournie . . . comme cette Mosquée a de revenus immenses, il y a une fondation pour nourrir et loger tous les passans, & on y exerce l'hospitalité avec beaucoup de charité,' cf. *B.S.A.* xx. 98.

seems since to have revived to some extent. Yatagan Baba is reputed the master of Abdal Mousa.[1] Another *tekke* at the same place contains the grave of Abdi Bey Sultan.

Menemen.—The *tekke* here contains the grave of Bakri Baba.

Manisa.—The Bektashi have no *tekke* at Manisa since the persecution of 1826, but claim that they were important there, and that the graves of Aine Ali and Niazi belong by right to their order.

Touloum Bounar.—The newly rebuilt *türbe* of Yaffer Baba, a conspicuous object from the Cassaba line (near Touloum Bounar station) is claimed by the Bektashi as part of a convent dissolved in 1826.

D.—VILAYET OF BRUSA (KHUDAVENDKIAR).

Brusa, though the Bektashi have now no footing there, seems formerly to have been a great stronghold of the order.[2] The following graves are those of (real or supposed) Bektashi saints :—

Abdal Mourad.—To this was attached a *tekke*, reputed of Sultan Orkhan's foundation[3]; the saint himself is said by the sixteenth century historian, Saad-ed-din, to have been a holy man of this reign,[4] though his connection with the Bektashi is not noticed, and is probably apocryphal. Evliya calls him a companion of Hadji Bektash.[5] The *tekke* is mentioned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[6] and the tomb of the saint still exists.[7]

Geikli Baba is regarded as the contemporary and companion in arms of Abdal Mourad, and, like him, a follower of Hadji Bektash and one of Achmet Yassevi's apostles.[8] The connection with Hadji Bektash and his cycle is a late development as in the case of Abdal Mousa.[9]

Ramazan Baba is spoken of by Evliya as 'buried in a pleasant

[1] See above, *Elmali* and below, *Cairo*.

[2] Cf. Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, 302; the expulsion of the Bektashi from Brusa in 1826 was witnessed by Laborde (*Asie Mineure*, 24).

[3] Evliya, *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 8, ii. 24.

[4] In Seaman's *Orchan*, 116.

[5] *Loc. cit.*

[6] Sestini, *Littere Odoporiche*, i. 117; von Hammer, *Reise nach Brusa*, 57; Cuinet, *Asie Mineure*, iv. 129.

[7] Kandis, Προῦσα, 153.

[8] Evliya, *Travels*, ii. 21, 24. On Achmet Yassevi and his introduction into the Bektashi cycle see *B.S.A.* xx.

[9] Cf. Seaman's *Orchan*, *loc. cit.*

meadow in Brússa in a convent of Begtáshis,'[1] but is claimed for the Nakshbendi order by Assad Effendi.[2]

Sheikh Kili.—The foundation of the *tekke* attached to this tomb was ascribed by Evliyá to Orkhan.[3]

Akbeyik Sultan.—This saint is assigned by the same author both to the Bektashi[4] and the Bairami.[5]

Other Bektashi *tekkes* exist, or are known to have existed, at the following places in the Brusa vilayet.

Sidi Ghazi, a village south of Eski Shehr. The saint buried in the *tekke*, who has given his name to the village, is a celebrated warrior of the Arab period; his grave was discovered already in Seljouk times, and the foundation came into the hands of the Bektashi at least as early as the sixteenth century.[6] The *tekke* still exists, though the foundation is much decayed.[7] Near, and west of it, is the *tekke* of Soudja-ed-din, who is mentioned by Jacob as an important Bektashi saint.[8] This *tekke* seems also to be kept up. Those of Melek Baba and Urian Baba in the same district are now dissolved.

Besh Karish (near Altyn Tash and the railway station, Ihsanieh). Here is buried Resoul Ali Sultan or Resoul Baba, a *khalifa* of Hadji Bektash.[9]

Redjeb (three hours from Ushak). Here is buried the *khalifa* Kolu Atchik Hadjim Sultan.[10] The *tekke* is now disused and administered by a steward (*mouteveli*), but seems to be of some local importance.

Balukisir.—Another *khalifa* Seyyid Djemal Sultan, is buried in this district.[11] I have no information as to the *tekke*.

[1] *Travels*, ii. 27; cf. von Hammer, *Reise nach Brussa*, 56.

[2] *Destr. des Janissaires*, 300.

[3] Evliya, *Travels*, ii. 8.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 8.

[5] *Ibid.* ii. 26. It should be noted that Hadji Bairam himself is claimed by the Bektashi at the present day.

[6] See Browne, *J.R.A.S.* 1907, where a Houroufi MS. is said to have been copied here in 1545–6; and cf. Menavino, *Libri Cinque delle Cose Turchesche* (1548), 60.

[7] For details and bibliography of this *tekke* see *B.S.A.* xix. 184 ff. To bibliography add C. Wülzinger, *Drei Bektaschiklöster Phrygiens*, xx. 103 (Berlin, 1913).

[8] *Die Bektaschije*, 28.

[9] Jacob, *Bektaschije*, 27.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.* The site may be looked for at Tekke Keui near Kebsud, near which is a village *Bektashler*.

The *vilayet* of Brusa seems to have been a stronghold of the Bektashi in the fifties of the last century.[1]

Dardanelles.[2]—Though no *tekke* exists here to-day, it was probably a Bektashi centre before 1826, on account of the number of Janissaries quartered there. A ruined and deserted *tekke* exists outside the village of Seraidjik, in the valley of the Rhodius. It bears the name of the saint interred in it (*Indje* or *Indjir Baba*) and is still visited as a pilgrimage.[3]

Chevalier in the early years of the present century describes a *tekke*, apparently Bektashi, possibly identical with the above.[4]

E.—VILAYET OF KASTAMOUNI.

Kaledjik (near).—Evliya describes in this district the pilgrimage of Kodji Baba, one of the disciples of Hadji Bektash, who was buried in a convent bearing his name. 'There is no other building than the convent; the tomb is adorned with lamps and candelabras. His [*i.e.*, the saint's] banner, drum, habit, and carpet are all preserved, as though he himself were present. The Turcomans have great faith in this saint.'[5]

Kangri (near).—At the village of Airak, north of the Kizil Irmah river, in this district, Evliya found a large and hospitable convent, containing a hundred dervishes and the tomb of Mahommed Shah Dede; this saint 'came with Hadji Bektash from Khorassan to the Court of Bayezid [I.].'[6]

F.—VILAYET OF SIVAS.

Sivas.—In the town is a recent *tekke*, called Maksoumler ('the infants')[7], founded by a certain Halil Pasha, afterwards Governor of Beyrout. About fifty years ago, a dervish is said to have discovered by

[1] C. MacFarlane, *Turkey and her Destiny*, i. 501.

[2] Strictly speaking the town of the Dardanelles is not in the Brusa province but forms the capital of an independent sub-prefecture (*sandjak*).

[3] From Mr. R. Grech of the Dardanelles.

[4] *Voyage de la Propontide*, 14: 'Derrière la ville s'étend une large plaine au milieu de laquelle on trouve un Teké ou couvent de Derviches, entouré de vignes et de jardins délicieux. Ces solitaires donnent au pays qui les avoisine l'exemple de l'hospitalité la plus affectueuse: ils offrent leurs plus beaux fruits et leurs cellules au voyageur fatigué et de la meilleur foi du monde lui font admirer un cerceuil de quarante pieds, qui contient les reliques du géant qui les a fondés.'

[5] *Travels*, ii. 226.

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 236.

[7] Or Maksoum Pak (Pers. *pâk*='pure').

revelation the graves of two infants (*maksoum*), who were identified with Ali Eftar, son of the fifth Imam (Mahommed Bakir), and Sali, son of the seventh (Mousa Kiazim); these infants are regarded as martyrs.[1] The infant son of Halil Pasha is also buried in the *tekke*.

Amasia.—Here is a *tekke* containing the grave of Piri Baba.

Divrigi (near).—Three hours from Divrigi is a recent *tekke* founded by a learned Bektashi *sheikh* named Gani Baba and called Andahar Tekkiesi.[2]

Three important *tekkes* in this (strongly *Shia*) *vilayet* are mentioned by Evliya in the seventeenth century, of which the first two certainly exist. These are :—

Marsovan, with tomb of Piri Dede, 'a companion of Hadji Bektash.' In Evliya's time there were 300 dervishes there, and the convent was supported by the revenues of 366 villages.[3] There seems lately to have been a kind of 'revival' in which immigrants from Transcaucasia (Kars district) have played an important part.

Osmandjik, with tomb of Koyoun Baba, who came with Hadji Bektash from Khorassan. All the inhabitants of the town were in Evliya's time affiliated to the Bektashi.[4] The foundation seems now to have passed into other hands, and the saint to be known as 'Pambouk Baba.'

Bárúgúnde (near Shabin Kara Hissar).—This *tekke* contained the tomb of Behlul of Samarkand and those of the Tchoban family.[5] It is probably the 'Tchobanli Tekke' marked on R. Kiepert's map due south of Shabin Kara Hissar, on the road to Erzingian. Evliya also makes brief mention of a Bektashi *tekke* of Mohammed Shah near Etchmiadzin.[6]

A list, however incomplete, of Anatolian centres in which there is now no Bektashi establishment, may be of service to future enquirers. The following places have been cited to me as such by Bektashi informants: Adana, Aintab, Angora, Beyshehr, Brusa, Caesarea, Dardanelles,

[1] This is probably the pilgrimage of the 'Kyzylbash' Kurds at Sivas mentioned by Molyneux-Seel as the 'tomb of Hassan.' The confusion with the other pair of Holy Children, Hassan and Hussein, is readily comprehensible.

[2] Perhaps from *Anzaghar*, marked south of Divrigi in R. Kiepert's map.

[3] *Travels*, ii. 215, cf. Hadji Khalfa, tr. Armain, 681.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 96, cf. Jacob, *Bektaschije*, 28.

[5] *Ibid.* ii. 205.

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 125.

Isbarta, Karaman, Konia, Manisa, Marash,[1] Melasso, Mersina, Nazli, Pyrgi, Tarsus, Trebizond.

The absence of Bektashi at Angora is accounted for by the local predominance of the Bairami order, and at Konia, Karaman,[2] and Manisa by the position held there by the Mevlevi. Adana,[3] Aidin, Caesarea,[4] and Pyrgi,[5] are notoriously 'black' *Sunni* towns.

Shamakh.—The furthest extension of Bektashism eastwards seems to be marked by the important *tekke* visited by Evliya at Shamakh, near Baku. This contained the tomb of Pir Merizat and was supported by the revenues of 300 villages, the inhabitants of which were mostly affiliated to the order.[6]

The Kurds of the Dersim recognize Hadji Bektash, and one Bektashi *tekke* is said to exist in Kurdistan.[7]

II.—MESOPOTAMIA.

In Mesopotamia there are Bektashi *tekkes* in the neighbourhood of the *Shia* holy-places: these are probably rather rest-houses for Bektashi pilgrims than regular *tekkes*. They are said to be placed at **Bagdad** (with tomb of Gulgul Baba),[8] **Kazmen** (a suburb of Bagdad sacred for Shias as containing the tomb of Imam Mousa), **Kerbela, Nedjef,** and **Samara.** There seem to be no Bektashi *tekkes* in Syria (certainly not at Damascus or Jerusalem), where the population seems to be little in sympathy with dervishes in general.

III.—EGYPT.

Cairo.—The Bektashi convent on the Mokattan above the citadel is the only establishment of the order in Egypt. A great cave in the precincts

[1] A *tekke* is said to have existed there till 1826.

[2] Davis (*Life in Asia Minor*, 295), speaks of the Valideh *Tekke* here as Bektashi: it is of course Mevlevi.

[3] Cf. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii. 118. But I have heard of a learned Bektashi *baba* resident in this *vilayet* at Djebel-Bereket (Yarpout), which perhaps implies the existence of propaganda among the local Turcoman tribes.

[4] Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, 314, 317; cf. (for Caesarea) Skene, *Anadol*, 159.

[5] Assad Effendi, *loc. cit.*; Amasia had in 1826 the same reputation, but has now a Bektashi *tekke*, as has Teire (for which see Schlechta-Wsserd, *Denkschr. Uren Ak., P.-H. Cl.* vii. (1857, i. 47).

[6] *Travels*, ii. 60.

[7] Taylor seems to have found a *tekke* at Arabkir in 1860 (*J.R.G.S.* 1868, 28, 312).

[8] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii. 242, 244.

of the convent serves as *türbe* or mausoleum; the chief saint buried in it (reputed the founder of the convent) is named Kaigousouz[1] Sultan. He was a pupil of Abdal Mousa,[2] and brought the Bektashi faith to Egypt. He is said to have been a prince by birth, and bore in the world the name of Sultanzade Ghaibi. His reputation is great among the Bektashi, who regard him as the founder of the fourth branch of the order. It seems unlikely that the grave of Kaigousouz is authentic or that the convent is of great antiquity. Pococke and Perry, who examined this slope of the Mokattam pretty carefully in the first half of the seventeenth century, notice 'grottoes' but no *tekke*; the latter says expressly that the grottoes were uninhabited.[3] The foundation may thus be connected with the spread of Bektashism in the later years of the eighteenth century and not improbably with the Albanian mercenaries who served at this time in Egypt, possibly with Mahommed Ali himself, who is said by some Bektashi to have been a member of their sect. The same is said of Omer Vrioni, of Berat, who seems to have done some soldiering in Egypt. The following description of the Cairo establishment of the Bektashi seems the best available:—'The tekîya projects from the hill, and may be distinguished from afar by a bank of verdant foliage with which it is fronted. Ascending a long flight of steps and passing through a small garden, you enter the tekîya, which has lately been rebuilt for the dervishes by the Khedive Ismail[4] and some of the princesses.[5] The hall for the devotions of the members, the rooms of the shêkh, and the sumptuous kitchen may be inspected. . . . The small open court of the tekîya leads into an ancient quarry . . . penetrating the rock for more than 200 feet. A pathway of matting enclosed by a wooden railing leads to the innermost recess where lies buried the *Sheikh* Abdallah el-Maghâwrî, *i.e.* of the Grotto or Cave (Maghâra). His original name was Kîghûsûz, and he was a native of Adalia. Sent as deputy to Egypt to propagate the doctrines of the fraternity, he settled there and took the name of Abdallah.'[6] At the present day the *tekke* of Kaigousouz at Cairo appears to be the only

[1] Kaigousouz is said to be a word used by the Bektashi for *pilaf*.

[2] See above, *Elmali*.

[3] *View of the Levant*, 234.

[4] 1863–79.

[5] Cf. Baedeker, *Egypt*, p. 53: 'A handsomely gilt coffin here is said to contain the remains of a female relative of the Khedive'—evidently buried here as a benefactress of the *tekke*.

[6] Murray's *Egypt* (1900), 29.

Bektashi establishment in Egypt or indeed in North Africa. The sect may owe its persistence here to the floating Albanian population; the present abbot is a Tosk Albanian.

The sect formerly held also the *tekke* of Kasr-el-Ainy in Old Cairo, which is claimed by Assad Effendi as an original foundation of the Nakshbendi.[1] The *tekke* is first mentioned by Pococke, who, however, does not state to which order it belonged.[2] Wilkinson says it was founded by the Bektashi and belonged to them till transferred to the Kadri by Ibrahim Pasha.[3]

IV.—CONSTANTINOPLE.

The following list of Bektashi *tekkes* existing at the capital was given me at the *tekke* of Shehidler above Roumeli Hissar.[4]

A.—EUROPEAN SIDE.

1. **Yedi Koule** (Kazli Tchesme), *Sheikh* Abdullah.
2. **Top Kapou,** *Sheikh* Abdullah.
3. **Kariadin** (above Eyoub), *Sheikh* Hafouz Baba.
4. **Sudlidja,** *Sheikh* Hussein Baba.
5. **Karagatch** (near Kiaghit Khane), *Sheikh* Munir Baba.
6. **Rumeli Hissar** (Shehidler).

Nos. 1 and 2 are for celibates. The *sheikhs* of 6 are of Anatolian descent, and the office is hereditary.

B.—ASIATIC SIDE.

7. **Tchamlidja.**

8. **Merdiven Keui.**—This important *tekke* is said by the Bektashi to contain the grave of a very ancient warrior-saint, Shahkouli, who 'fought against Constantine' and was here buried. The name of the founder of the *tekke* was given me as Mehemet Ali Baba, and that of the present

[1] *Destruction des Janissaires*, 300.

[2] *Description of the East*, i_1. 29.

[3] *Modern Egypt*, i. 287; cf. *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, 573, from which the *tekke* appears to have been Bektashi as late as 1808.

[4] Similar lists are given by Tschudi in Jacob, *Bektaschije* 51 ff. and Depont and Coppolani, *Confréries Musulmanes*, 530–1.

sheikh as Hadji Achmet Baba. The *tekke* is also said to contain the grave of Azbi Tchaoush, who conducted Misri Effendi to exile and was converted by him on the way.[1]

At the suppression of the Order in 1826, there were fourteen convents in the capital,[2] of which nine were demolished.[3] These were at (1) Yede Koule, (2) Eyoub, (3) Sudlidja, (4) Karagatch, (5) Shehidlik,[4] (6) Tchamlidja, (7) Merdiven Keui, (8) Eukuz Liman,[5] and (9) Scutari.[6]

It thus appears that since 1826, the Bektashi have managed to reinstate themselves in seven out of the nine proscribed *tekkes*, and to add one (Top Kapou) to the number of their Constantinople establishments.[7]

Of *tekkes* formerly occupied by the Bektashi in the Constantinople district we can cite:—

Roumeli Hissar.—Durmish Dede, a sailors' saint who died in the reign of Achmet I., and was buried on the point of Roumeli Hissar.[8] This *tekke* is now in the hands of the Khalveti.

Istrandja, in the hills north-east of Constantinople.[9]

V.—TURKEY IN EUROPE. (FIG. 2.)

In this country, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, the Bektashi had many *tekkes*, most of which were destroyed in the persecution of 1826.

[1] Brown, *Dervishes*, 164; for Misri Effendi, a seventeenth-century poet and heresiarch with a leaning towards Bektashi doctrines, see Cantemir, *Hist. Ottomane*, tr. Joncquières, ii. 218, 228 ff.; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xi. 335; and Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, iii. 312.

[2] Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, i. 19.

[3] Assad Effendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, 326.

[4] The destruction of this *tekke* is mentioned by C. MacFarlane, *Turkey and her Destiny*, ii. 504. It is cited as belonging to the Melamiyoun by J. P. Brown (*Dervishes*, 175).

[5] Mentioned also by Evliya, *Travels*, i_2. 81; Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii. 322.

[6] Probably the *tekke* containing the tomb of Karadja Achmet (on whom see *B.S.A.* xx. 120 ff.) of which the *türbe* survives.

[7] There were three Bektashi *tekkes* about 1850 (Brown, *Dervishes*, 530 f.).

[8] Evliya, *Travels*, i_2. 26, 70: 'the Dervíshes Begtáshi superintend it [the pilgrimage] with their drums and lamps,' cf. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii. 85.

[9] *Ibid.* i_2. 88: 'there is a convent of the Begtáshís; they hunt for the emperor harts, roes, and deer, of which they make hams.'

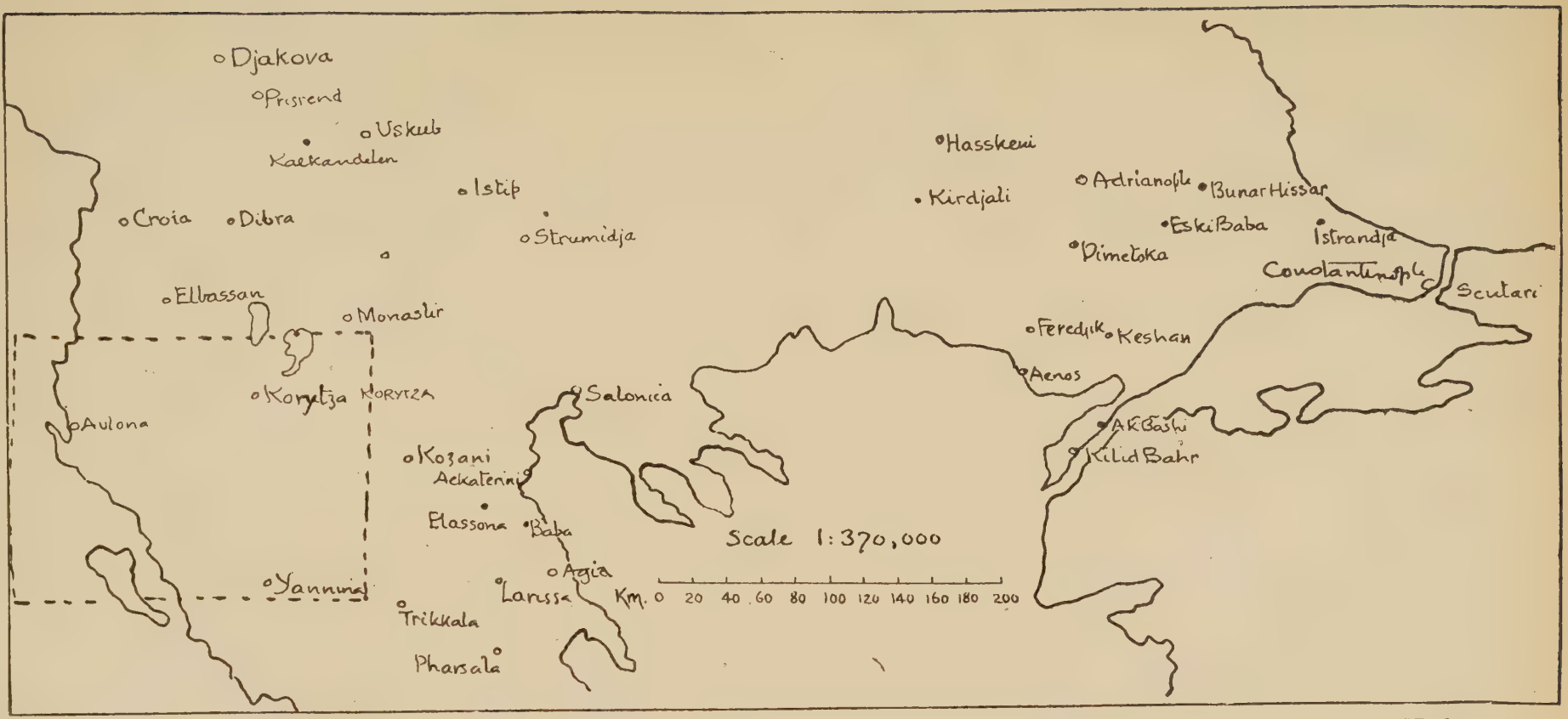

FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP SHEWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI IN EUROPE.

[*To face p.* 100.

A.—GALLIPOLI PENINSULA.[1]

There are still two *tekkes* here at

Kilidj Bahr (opposite the town of Dardanelles) and **Ak Bashi** (Sestos).—This latter is a simple cell, tenanted by one dervish,[2] who acts as guardian to the tomb of Ghazi Fazil Beg, one of the companions of Suleiman Pasha in his first invasion of Europe.[3]

B.—DISTRICT OF ADRIANOPLE.

This district has been in its day a great stronghold of Bektashism. At Adrianople itself, a disreputable *tekke* on the hill called Khidrlik was suppressed already in 1641,[4] and in 1826 no less than sixteen convents in the town and district were confiscated. The country round Adrianople, especially to the west of the city, into which district a numerous Turkish nomad population has been imported from Asia at various dates,[5] preserves the names of many destroyed *tekkes* which have in recent years developed into farms or villages.

East of Adrianople two such *tekkes* have left traditions behind them. These are:—

Eski Baba, on the main road to Constantinople.—The saint here buried was identified with Sari Saltik, a famous Bektashi saint. The *türbe* is said to be an ancient church of S. Nicolas; it is still frequented by Christians as well as Mahommedans.[6]

Bounar Hissar, some miles east of Kirk Kilisse.—The *tekke* seems to have been confiscated in 1826, but the grave of the saint, Binbiroglou Achmet Baba, was still later a pilgrimage for Turks. The *tekke* is now a farm.[7]

[1] This district, now isolated, was probably connected with Adrianople by a chain of *tekkes* down to 1826. The maps mark many *tekkes* between the two points, most of which, I am informed, are now farms.

[2] As in E. D. Clarke's time (*Travels*, iii. 86).

[3] Cf. Saad-ed-din in Seaman's *Orchan*, 80.

[4] Jacob, *Beiträge*, 16; cf. Rycaut, *Present State of the Turkish Empire*, 67. Covel (*Journal*, 248) says there was formerly a Greek church of S. George at this point.

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i. 330 (Turks from Menimen sent to Philippopolis district); cf. Baker, *Turkey in Europe*, 382.

[6] *B.S.A.* xix. 205, xx. 108.

[7] *B.S.A.* xx. 108. This is the *tekke* which is said formerly to have contained an inscription in 'Ancient Syrian' letters 'like nails,' probably the inscribed pillar set up by Darius at the sources of the Tearus (*J.R.G.S.* xxiv. (1854), 44; see *Arch. Anz.* 1915, 3 ff.). I believe this pillar may have

South of Adrianople, Slade,[1] in 1830, notes the sites of several Bektashi *tekkes* ruined during the attempted suppression of the order by Sultan Mahmoud II.

At **Feredjik,** on the hill above the village, he found the ruins of a *tekke* and a tomb-chamber containing the graves of five dervishes. The chief of these, he was informed, was Ibrahim Baba of the Bektashi order. Five miles further on was the tomb of another Bektashi saint, Nefez Baba, who was said to have come from Gallipoli with the first Turkish conquerors, and to have founded a *tekke* here. Nefez Baba was the son of the King of Fez.[2] Some miles further on was a third Bektashi *tekke*, containing the tomb of a certain Rustem Baba, which Slade did not visit.[3]

Keshan.—There is here a small *tekke* in the town itself, tenanted by a *baba* and servitors (Albanians).

Domouz Dere (near Keshan).—This *tekke* is tenanted by an abbot and three or four dervishes. Its history is particularly interesting in relation to the question of Bektashi usurpations. According to local tradition, borne out, as we shall see, by very solid evidence, the *tekke* was originally a small Greek monastery of S. George. The Bektashi are said to have gained a footing there during or after an epidemic of plague, which depopulated the neighbouring (Christian) village of Tchiltik. This is said to have happened 'about sixty years ago,' very possibly at the time of the last great outbreak of plague in European Turkey, which took place in 1836–9,[4] almost within living memory.

At the present time the feast-day of S. George is still celebrated at Domouz Dere by a *panegyris* of a social character, which is frequented both by Turks and Greeks; the representatives of the two religions do not mix together more than is necessary.

The original church of S. George has been divided by the dervishes into several compartments, including living-rooms and a tomb-chamber for

been 'adopted' by the Bektashi, like the sacred stone at Tekke Keui (see *Macedonia* below), as an additional attraction to the *tekke* of Bounar Hissar. Its cuneiform writing was probably recognised as 'Ancient Syrian' by some dervish who had visited the *Shia* sanctuaries in Mesopotamia where cuneiform monuments are common.

[1] *Travels*, 470.

[2] This is too evidently an inference from his name (*nefess* = 'Breath' and metaph. 'Spirit').

[3] A probable Bektashi *tekke* on the outskirts of Aenos may be recognised in the building called Younouz Baba Tekkiesi (Δελτίον Χτ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρείας, Η'. 28).

[4] Edmund Spencer, *Travels in European Turkey*, ii. 378 ff.

the abbots' graves; the compartment including the original 'sanctuary' still preserves the upper part of the screen (*templon*), and on its north wall is an ancient *eikon* of S. George flanked by lighted lamps. This has been actually seen by my informant, an Italian friend long resident in the district of Keshan and on easy terms with the dervishes of the *tekke*.

So recent and so well-documented a case of Bektashi usurpation as this must be regarded as a warning against excess of scepticism in appreciating legends current elsewhere, and resting solely on tradition, of similar occurrences. What happened at Domouz Dere probably happened *mutatis mutandis* at Eski Baba,[1] and may have happened at many other 'ambiguous' sanctuaries; the story of the Christian *eikon* jealously guarded at the *tekke* of Rení,[2] if it be a fable, is at least a fable not without historical parallels. At the same time tradition must not be accepted blindly. We know for a fact that many Christian churches have been transformed into mosques by the Turks. Yet the 'traditions' as to the Christian past of mosques are often demonstrably false; notoriously so in the case of the mosque of Isa Bey or 'Church of S. John' at Ephesus. To the *West*, as we have said, Bektashi establishments were thickly planted, but most were destroyed in 1826.

At **Kush Kavak,** at the fork of the main road leading from Adrianople to Kirdjali and Gumuldjiria, a *tekke* is said by the Bektashi still to exist. It may be that of Ohad Baba, marked on the War Office map just north of the village.

Dimetoika.—*Tekkes* of Kyzyl Deli Sultan in this district are mentioned by Assad Effendi[3] as among those demolished in 1826. The name of the saint is shown on our maps in the district due west of Dimetoka, which adjoins the Kirdjali district transferred by the treaty of Bucharest to Bulgaria.

[1] Above, p. 101.

[2] See below, *Thessaly*.

[3] *Destruction des Janissaires*, 314: special instructions regarding these *tekkes* are given in the text of the firman printed by the same author at pp. 325 ff.: 'Vous vous rendrez d'abord à Adrianople; là, de concert avec Mohammed-Assad-Pacha, gouverneur de Tcharmen, vous expulserez des tékiés de Kizil-Deli-Sultan les bektachis qui s'y trouvent . . . Notre intention est de destiner au casernement des corps de soldats de Mahomet qui pourront par suite être formés dans ces contrées les bâtiments spacieux et commodes de quelques-uns de ces établissements, et de transformer les grand salles en mosquées.' For Kyzyl Deli Sultan see also Brown, *The Dervishes*, 325; Jacob, *Bektaschije*, 28.

VI.—BULGARIA.

Kirdjali, the district adjoining that of Adrianople on the west and lately ceded to Bulgaria, contains the grave and *tekke* of the Bektashi saint Said Ali Sultan. The *tekke* was destroyed by the Bulgars in the last war, the *türbe* (mausoleum) being spared.

Haskovo, between Philippopolis and the frontier, half a day north of Kirdjali, possesses (or possessed) a *tekke* with the grave of Moustafa Baba.[1] It is, as usual, at some distance from the town.

Strumidja (Stroumnitza, in 'New Bulgaria').—In this district there was, before the Balkan war, a Bektashi *tekke* containing the grave of a saint Ismail Baba, and a hot spring attributed to the agency of the saint's foot. This *tekke* is now destroyed.[2]

Razgrad (near).—There was also till recently an isolated *tekke* containing the grave of Hassan Demir Baba Pehlivan, who lived '400 years ago' and performed a number of miracles. The *tekke* was founded early in the nineteenth century by Pehlivan Baba, Pasha of Rustchuk.[3] A good description of it, the legend of the buried hero, and a block of the *tekke* and its surroundings are given by Kanitz.[4]

A *tekke* of Moustafa Baba, between Rustchuk and Silistria, is mentioned by Jacob.[5]

Elsewhere in Bulgaria there is said to be a Bektashi community at Selvi in the district of Turnavo, but my informant[6] does not know whether they possess a *tekke*. An Albanian dervish at Meltchan (Korytzà) told me there was formerly a *tekke* at Turnavo itself, but it had been destroyed already before the Balkan War.[7]

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[1] The *tekke* seems to be mentioned by Quiclet (*Voyage*, 149). An Albanian Bektashi informant assures me that no Bektashi establishment now exists here, but is contradicted by Midhat Bey Frasheri who, though not himself an adherent of the order, comes of a Bektashi family, and is now resident in Bulgaria.

[2] From an Albanian dervish at Meltchan (Korytzà) who had resided at Strumidja.

[3] Jireshek, *Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, 411.

[4] *Op. cit.*, iii. 298 ff. (p. 535 f. in the French translation).

[5] *Beiträge*, 17.

[6] Midhat Bey Frasheri.

[7] The same dervish assured me that there was now no Bektashi *tekke* or community in Bulgaria.

VII.—ROUMANIA.

Three *tekkes* of the Bektashi are mentioned within the present frontiers of Roumania:—

(1) At **Baba Dagh** was a Bektashi convent containing one of the graves of Sari Saltik.[1]

(2) At **Kilgra** (Kaliakra) on the Black Sea, Evliya visited a *tekke* of Bektashi, containing another reputed grave of the same saint.[2] I am informed that the site is now completely deserted, though it remains a pilgrimage for Moslems and Christians alike.

Baltchik (near).—Here was formerly a Bektashi *tekke* of great importance, one of the largest in Roumeli. The saint there buried was called Hafouz Halil Baba, or Ak-yazili Baba, and was by Christians identified with S. Athanasius.[3]

VIII.—SERVIA.

In 'new Servia,' *i.e.*, Servian Macedonia, *tekkes* are said to exist, or to have existed, at the following places; many of them seem to have been destroyed during and after the Balkan war:—

Monastir.—Here there is a small *tekke* in the town, with the grave of Hussein Baba, a martyr (*shehid*), dated 1872–3; this *tekke* was unharmed in 1914.

In the neighbourhood are (or were) *tekkes* at the villages of

Kirshova and **Kanatlar.**

In the Albanian district of western Servia were *tekkes* at

Djakova and **Prizrend.**[4]

Uskub.—Here there were, before the war, two Bektashi *tekkes* named after Moustafa Baba and Suleiman Baba: the latter was a recent establishment.

[1] Evliya, *Travels*, tr. von Hammer, ii. 72; cf. *B.S.A.* xix. 205 f.

[2] Evliya, *Travels*, ii. 72; Hadji Khalfa, *Rumeli*, tr. von Hammer, 27; *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* x. (1886), 188 f.; cf. *B.S.A.* xix. 205, xx. 108.

[3] Kanitz, *Bulgarien*, ii. 211 (French trans. 474–7); *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* x. (1886), 182; *B.S.A.* xx. 109.

[4] This *tekke* is mentioned by Brailsford, *Macedonia*, 247.

Kalkandelen.—Here still (1914) exists a large and important *tekke* containing the supposed grave of Sersem Ali. This *tekke* was founded by Riza Pasha (d. 1822), at the instance of Moharrabe Baba, who discovered, by revelation, the tomb of Sersem Ali.[1] The *tekke* stands within a rectangle of high walls, each pierced by a gateway (Pl. XII. 1), just outside the town. The buildings of the *tekke* include lodgings for the dervishes, two oratories (*meidan*), the tombs of Sersem Ali, Moharrabe Baba, Riza Pasha, and others, a large open *mesdjid* standing on columns, guest-rooms, kitchens, and farm buildings. All these seem to be of the date of the foundation; they are for the most part picturesque and rather elaborate wooden buildings with deep porticoes (Pl. XII. 2). Fruit and flower-gardens are included in the precinct.

At **Tekke Keui,** near the station of Alexandrovo, between Koumanovo and Uskub, is a small *tekke* with the grave of Karadja Achmet. The cult has been discussed by Evans[2]; it now seems likely that this site will be transferred to Christianity.[3]

There were also *tekkes* at

Ishtip and **Kuprulu,** and the Christian monastery of S. Naoum on Lake Ochrida is visited by Bektashi as a pilgrimage[4] (Pl. XII. 3).

IX.—GREECE.

A.—MACEDONIA.

Salonica.—A *tekke* formerly existing on the western outskirts of the town was destroyed during the Balkan war.

Kastoria.—The *tekke* is situated at the entrance to the town on the Florina road. It is now small and insignificant, being tenanted only by an abbot, but is said to be ancient and formerly important. It suffered during the persecution of 1826. The chief saint buried here, Cassim Baba, is supposed to have lived at the time of the Turkish conquest, and enjoys considerable local fame as a posthumous miracle-worker. He is said during his lifetime to have converted many Christians by the somewhat crude method of hurling from the hill on the landward side of the

[1] See *B.S.A.* xx. 110, 117; and for Sersem Ali, Jacob, *Bektaschije*, 28.
[2] *J.H.S.* xxi. 202. [3] *B.S.A.* xx. 110. [4] *B.S.A.* xx. 111.

isthmus of Kastoria a huge rock, which crashed into a church full of worshippers.

Of a second *tekke*, occupied within living memory, at Toplitza (near the barracks) only the *türbe* and grave of Sandjakdar Ali Baba remain. The Bektashi also lay claim to the grave of Aidin Baba, in a humble *türbe* on the outskirts of the gypsy quarter.

In the district of Kastoria, west of the market-town of Anagelitsa, the Bektashi have a considerable following. The Moslem element in the population is here supposed to have been converted in recent times, 'a hundred and fifty years ago' being the usual estimate. This is borne out by the fact that the Moslems in question (called Valakhádhes)[1] speak Greek, and in some villages have deserted churches (not converted into mosques), to which they shew considerable respect. The Bektashi *tekkes* serving this district are at Vodhorína, two-and-a-half hours west of Anagelitsa, and Odra, high up on the slopes of the Pindus range.

Both *tekkes* are connected with the same saint, Emineh Baba, who seems to be historical. He is said to have been executed at Monastir in A.H. 1007 (1598–9) for professing the unorthodox opinions of Mansour-el-Halladj, who is claimed by the Bektashi as an early preacher of their doctrines and a precursor of their order.[2] Emineh appeared to his sister on the night of his execution at her home in Vodhorína; she was preparing a meal to which guests were invited. He helped his sister in her preparations, and afterwards sat down to table. Some of the guests, noticing that he took nothing, pressed him to eat, which he refused to do, on the ground that he was fasting. Finally, however, yielding to their importunity, he ate, with the words 'If you had not made me eat, I should have visited you every evening.' He then disappeared.[3]

Vodhorína.—The *tekke* here is an ordinary house in the village, the *türbes* of former abbots being as usual some little distance away and not architecturally remarkable. It is said to have suffered in 1826 and is now occupied by an abbot only, who is from the district. A room of the house itself contains a plain commemorative cenotaph to Emineh Baba, his habit (*khirka*), and other relics; this room is used by the sick for incubation.

[1] On the Valakhádhes see Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, 29 f.

[2] He lived in the early part of the fourth century of the Hegira, and was martyred for his opinions at Bagdad. See Hastings' *Dict. of Religion*, s.v. *Halladj*.

[3] From the abbot at Vodhorína.

Other cenotaphs of the saint are said to exist at Kapishnitza (near Viglishta) and at Monastir.[1]

Odra is, like Vodhorína, a small establishment occupied by an abbot and two or three dervishes, all local but one, who is an Albanian. The great attraction is a cave or chasm in the mountain, said to have been formed miraculously by Emineh Baba, who smote the mountain with his sword.

Local Greek tradition identifies the Odra site with that of a former church of S. Menas, to whom is attributed the miracle of the cave; the habit of Emineh, at Vodhorína, which is of no great antiquity, is also believed to be that of S. Menas. The identification may be due merely to the verbal assimilation of the names Emineh and Ἁγ. Μηνᾶ; but in more than one village of the Valachád the dedication of the church is said to be still preserved.

Near Kozani, in the Sari Gueul district, is a group of four Bektashi *tekkes*. The district in question is inhabited entirely by Anatolian Turks ('Koniari'), who were settled there in the early years of the Turkish conquest and preserve their language and customs unchanged. By religion they are partly Bektashi and partly fanatical *Sunni* Mahommedans.

Djouma.—The most important *tekke* of this group is built on a slight eminence just outside the village of the same name. It has every appearance of prosperity, and is occupied by an abbot and nine or ten dervishes. The saints buried in the adjoining *türbe* are 'Piri Baba and Erbeï Baba. Their date is unknown, but the *türbe* was repaired, according to an inscription, by two dervishes (implying the existence of a foundation) in A.H. 1143 (1730–1). Unlike most *tekkes* in this district, Djouma seems to be a place of considerable religious importance. It is much frequented in May (especially Thursdays and Saturdays) by Moslem women on account of the reputation of its sacred well for the cure of sterility. I was told by the abbot that Christian women made use of this well on Sundays, and, though this was denied by educated Greeks of Kozani, it may be true of the less advanced women of the adjacent Bulgarian villages. The *türbe*

[1] He is evidently confused, perhaps wilfully, with Khirka Baba, an (apparently historical) orthodox *sheikh* of Monastir who 'disappeared,' leaving, like Emineh, his habit behind him. This habit, much venerated by pilgrims, is kept in the tower (*Kula*) occupied during his lifetime by the *sheikh*. Water in which it has been dipped is said either to *kill or cure* chronic invalids: it is said sometimes to be administered without the knowledge of the patient by his sympathetic (or impatient) relatives.

of the saints is used for incubation by lunatics, and contains a club and an axe, regarded as personal relics of the saints, which are used for the cure (by contact with the affected part) of various ailments. There is also a very simple oracle, consisting in an earthenware ball, suspended from the roof of the *türbe* by a string. The enquirer swings the ball away from him; if it strikes him on its return swing, the answer to his question is in the affirmative.

The other *tekkes* of the Sari Gueul district are:—

Baghdje, in a healthy and pleasant position among trees and running water in the hills above the village of Topdjilar.[1] The *tekke* itself is an insignificant house, occupied by an abbot from Aintab and his servants. The *türbe*, which contains the grave of Ghazi Ali Baba, a saint of vague antiquity, was rebuilt this year (1915). About it are many graves marked by the Bektashi *taj*.

Boudjak, between the villages of Kousheler and Soppoular, is now subordinated to Djouma and has no abbot; it boasts the grave of Memi Bey Sultan and is inhabited by married dervishes.

At **Ineli,** between the Sari Gueul district and Kaïlar, there is said to be a *tekke* with the tomb of Ghazi Baba.

The property of the *tekkes* at Djouma and Boudjak was confiscated in 1826 and acquired by a rich Greek of Kozani, who, however, never prospered after his sacrilegious purchase. The land was bought back 'about forty years ago' and the *tekkes* reopened. Vague traditions as to the Christian origins of these foundations are current in Kozani. Some say that all Christian church lands were seized at the Turkish conquest and that monasteries then became *tekkes*; others are equally certain that Ali Pasha was responsible. The dedications of the supplanted monasteries are similarly disputed. Djouma is variously said to occupy the site of a church of S. George or of S. Elias; Baghdje of S. Elias or of S. Demetrius; and Boudjak perhaps one of S. George. The site of Baghdje certainly suggests that of a Greek monastery, but a site suitable for a monastery is equally suitable for a *tekke*, and the abbot informed me that in the considerable agricultural and building operations which have taken place under his direction, no evidence of former buildings has come to light. I could find no satisfactory evidence that Christians frequented the *tekkes* of the district for religious purposes except at Djouma; but the

[1] This village is, curiously enough, *Sunni*, while its neighbour, Ine Ova, is Bektashi.

district is purely Turkish and was reputed dangerous before the Balkan war.

Elassona.—Here there is a small *tekke*, occupied only by an (Albanian) abbot, beside the Serfidje road on the outskirts of the town. The Greeks say it was founded after the union of Thessaly with Greece (1882), but the occupants hold that it is a good deal older. The chief saint is Sali Baba, who is buried in a simple *türbe* with the (two) successive abbots of the *tekke*, the present incumbent being the third: the *türbe* is dated 1250 (1834–5). Sali Baba is represented as a saint of much earlier date,[1] who enjoyed a local vogue before the *türbe* was built at the instance of the first abbot (Nedjeb Baba), and at the expense of certain local *beys*. We have here, to all appearance, a documented instance of the occupation of a popular saint-cult by the Bektashi.[2] Nedjeb Baba probably established himself as guardian of the grave, and received instructions in a vision as to the building of the *türbe* from its saintly occupant.[3]

Aekaterini.—It is at first sight surprising to find a Bektashi *tekke* in what is now a purely Greek coast-district; but Leake's account shews that in his time the local landowners were Moslems, and the *bey* of the village was connected by marriage with Ali Pasha[4]: the *tekke* was probably *inter alia* a road-post like Ali's foundations in Thessaly.[5]

B.—THESSALY.

All available evidence points to the period and influence of Ali Pasha as responsible for the propagation of Bektashism in this province, ceded to Greece in 1882; this evidence is the stronger as coming from several independent sources.

Rení.—The sole remaining Bektashi *tekke* in Thessaly is at Rení, between Velestino and Pharsala.[6] In 1914, I found it tenanted only by an (Albanian) abbot and servitors. The rest of the dervishes, who seem also to have been Albanians, left at the time of the Balkan war. The *tekke* is beautifully situated and appears prosperous. Two *türbes* contain-

[1] 'Five hundred years ago,' the formula for the period of the Turkish conquest.

[2] See *B.S.A.* xx. 98.

[3] This is the typical development of a purely popular cult into a dervish establishment carried one step further than in the case of the tomb of Risk Baba at Candia (see below, *Crete*).

[4] *N. Greece*, iii. 415.

[5] See below.

[6] See *B.S.A.* xx. 110.

ing the tombs (1) of the saints Turbali Sultan, Djaffer, and Mustafa, all reputed warriors of the period of the Turkish conquest, and (2) of certain venerated *sheikhs*, stand before the great gate of the *tekke*. These *türbes* are of some architectural interest, and seem at least as early as the seventeenth century; in this they differ from most Bektashi buildings I have seen, which are unpretentious and obviously recent. According to local *savants*,[1] the *tekke* was originally a Latin monastery, dedicated to S. George or S. Demetrius, and was occupied by dervishes from Konia (Mevlevi?) in the first half of the seventeenth century. Ali Pasha transferred it to the Bektashi; it escaped the persecutions of 1826, and down to the occupation of the country by the Greeks, and even after, had a bad reputation as the resort of brigands and other bad characters.[2] So late as 1888 there were 54 dervishes in residence.

Other Bektashi *tekkes* in the province, now no longer existent, were established, according to the local authorities, by Ali and dissolved in 1826, at the following places:—

(1) Near **Tatar,** at the spot still called *Tehke* and marked by a fine grove of cypresses.[3] The present proprietor of the site, now a farm (*chiftlik*), Mr. Y. Apostolides, kindly informs me that it was till recently in the hands of the Mevlevi order,[4] and that of the buildings an octagonal *türbe* is preserved, which is supposed to contain the tomb of the founder. His name was given me at Reni as Balli Baba. The rest of the buildings were burnt in the war of 1897.[5]

(2) Near the village of **Kupekli** was a *tekke* containing the grave of Shahin Baba. The three *tekkes* were said to have been founded at the time of the Turkish conquest.

(3) The *tekke* of **Hassan Baba** at the entrance to the gorge of Tempe[6] is represented by the local authorities as another Bektashi convent founded or supported by Ali in order to control the traffic of the important road through the defile. Though the saint is, I believe, claimed by the Nakshbendi, 'Baba' more generally denotes a Bektashi saint, and Hassan

[1] See below, *Appendix*.

[2] Cf. below, p. 116.

[3] Mentioned by Leake, *N. Greece*, i. 445.

[4] It may have passed from the Bektashi to the Mevlevi in 1826, cf. below, p. 112.

[5] The *tekke* was the headquarters of the Turkish staff on May 9 (Bigham, *With the Turkish Army in Thessaly*, 92).

[6] Dodwell, *Views in Greece*, II. vi. (cf. *Tour*, ii. 107); Urquhart, *Spirit of the East*, i. 27; Lear, *Albania*, 396; Chirol, *Twixt Greek and Turk*, 116.

Baba seems to be represented as a warrior-saint of the usual Bektashi type. On the other hand, Dodwell's drawing (1805) shews the *tekke* with a mosque and minaret, which latter is an unusual feature in a Bektashi convent. Edward Lear, in the 'fifties, describes the dervish in charge as 'steeple hatted,' which rather points to the Mevlevi as the then occupants. At the fall of the Bektashi (1826), they were in the ascendant by the favour of Sultan Mahmoud II.[1]

All these *tekkes* are said to have been made use of for political purposes by Ali, and their sites on or near important highways to have been selected with that intent. Ali's political connection with the order has been discussed elsewhere.[2] With regard to Thessaly, the local account of his activities is borne out by contemporary notices of *tekkes* founded in his time.

(4) At **Trikkala** Leake found a large and prosperous *tekke* built by Ali himself.[3]

Agià (near).—A Bektashi *tekke* at Aidinli, three miles north-west of Agià (Magnesia) is mentioned by Leake as being built by Ali Pasha in 1809.[4] This seems to be identical with the convent of Alicouli mentioned by Pouqueville.[5]

At **Larissa** the 'Forty Saints,' whose tombs were formerly to be seen at the 'Mosque of the Forty' (*Kirklar Djami*), now destroyed, are claimed by the Bektashi.

C.—CRETE.

The Bektashi of Crete are now distributed in the three chief towns of the island, Candia, Rethymo, and Canea. There was formerly a *tekke*

[1] *B.S.A.* xix. 216 ff.

[2] *B.S.A.* xx. 113 ff.: see also below (*Epirus*).

[3] *N. Greece*, iv. 284: 'Tríkkala has lately been adorned by the Pasha with a new Tekiéh or college of Bektashlí dervíses on the site of a former one. He has not only removed several old buildings to give more space and air to his college, but has endowed it with property in khans, shops, and houses, and has added some fields on the banks of the *Lethaeus*. There are now about fifteen of these Mahometan monks in the house with a Sheikh or Chief, who is married to a Ioannite woman, and as well lodged and dressed as many a Pashá. Besides his own apartments, there are very comfortable lodgings for the dervises, and every convenience for the reception of strangers.'

[4] *N. Greece*, iv. 413: 'At Aidinlí Alý Pashá is now building a Tekiéh for his favourite Bektashlís.

[5] *Voyage de la Grèce*, iii. 384: '. . . le bourg Turc d'Alicouli, dont le Téké, qui est le plus riche de la Thessalie, est un chef-lieu de l'ordre des Bektadgis.' The *sheikh*, Achmet, was an acquaintance of Pouqueville's.

at H. Vlasios, a Mahommedan village two hours south of Candia. At Canea I obtained from a Bektashi layman approximate statistics of the strength of the order in the three towns before and after the troubles of 1897, which resulted in a considerable emigration of Moslem Cretans to Asia Minor, Tripolitania, and the Sporades. This movement is reflected in the statistics, which are given for what they are worth :—

	(1) *Before* 1897.	(2) *Present day.*
Candia	5,000	About 500
Rethymo	3,000	1,000
Canea	200	70

The district south of Candia was that in which the Moslem element was strongest. It is hardly necessary to say that the Moslem Cretans are of Cretan blood and represent the indigenous element converted from Christianity since the Turkish conquest. The small number of Bektashi at Canea, the capital of the island and an important town, is accounted for by the fact that the Mevlevi are strong there, as also, owing to the floating population of Tripolines ('Halikouti') from Benghazi, the Rufaï.

Candia.—The *tekke* lies on the main road three-quarters of an hour south of the town, near the site of Knossos and the village of Fortezza.[1] It was founded before the fall of Candia (1669), in 1650[2] by a celebrated saint named Khorassanli Ali Dede, who is buried there. The present venerable *Sheikh*, who has the title of *Khalifa*, is an Albanian from Kolonia and a celibate; his predecessor was married, and at his death it was thought more expedient for the convent that a celibate should succeed him. There are about a dozen dervishes, many of whom seem to be Albanian. The *tekke* has every appearance of prosperity and good management.

Outside the New Gate of Candia is the tomb of Risk Baba (Pl. XIII. 2), who is distinguished by the *taj* on his headstone as a Bektashi saint. To judge by the mass of rags affixed to a tree in his precinct he is a very popular intercessor. A small hut built beside the grave is that of a self-appointed guardian of the tomb, who is buried beside the saint.

The *tekke* at **Rethymo** contains the grave of Hassan Baba. At

[1] The *tekke* is described, with a photograph of the *meidan*, by Hall in *P. S. Bibl. Arch.* 1913, 147 ff. and Pl. 39, and mentioned by Spratt, *Crete*, i. 80.

[2] Of this I was assured there was documentary evidence by a learned Bektashi layman of Candia. The Turkish headquarters during the long siege of Candia were at Fortezza.

Canea there is now no *tekke* owing to Bektashi migration.[1] A Bektashi warrior-saint Mustafa Ghazi is buried under an open *türbe* on the outskirts of the town; his headstone bears the *taj* of the order. This tomb is much frequented by the Tripolines on May 22.

D.—EPIRUS. (FIG. 3.)

In this region Bektashism seems to have taken no permanent root south of latitude 40°. In spite of Ali Pasha's patronage,[2] the Bektashi admit that they have never possessed a *tekke* at Yannina, his capital, where the only trace of them is the tomb of Hassan Sheret Baba, a saint of Ali's time, and that of Ali himself, the headstone of which was formerly distinguished by the regulation Bektashi *taj*.[3] On the road between Yannina and Metzovo a *tekke* which formerly existed is now deserted; we may probably regard it as one of Ali's 'strategic' foundations devised to control the important pass into Thessaly.[4]

North of latitude 40°, on the other hand, lies, or lay till the troubles after the Balkan war, the great stronghold of nineteenth-century Bektashism, now cut in two by the artificial frontier between the Greek province of N. Epirus and the principality of Albania. Bektashi from this district (Toskeria) have told me that their co-religionists form nine-tenths of the Moslem population, as against one-tenth among the Ghegs of the north.

As to the history of Bektashism in Epirus, my researches have been able to establish the leading facts: (1) that it is of comparatively recent introduction, and (2) that the firm root it has taken is mainly due to the influence of Ali Pasha (1759–1822), who was himself a member of the order.[5] The Tosks regard the *tekke* of Kastoria[6] as the most ancient in their country, but Kastoria belongs geographically to Macedonia. The

[1] The *sheikh* formerly in charge was invited by Cretan Bektashi refugees in Benghazi to come and minister to them, but he died without founding a *tekke* there; this would have been difficult owing to the predominance of the Rufaï and Senoussi sects in that district.

[2] See *B.S.A.* xx. 216 ff.

[3] This is shewn in a drawing of the tomb in Walsh's *Constantinople and the Seven Churches*, and was mentioned to me as proof of Ali's connection with the sect by an elderly Epirote, who remembered seeing it. The headstone is now replaced by a wooden post.

[4] See above, *Thessaly*.

[5] This idea was put forward long ago on the evidence of tradition, which is no safe guide, since a figure like Ali's bulks large in popular thought and is apt to absorb much that does not belong to it.

[6] Above, *Macedonia*.

FIG. 3.—SKETCH-MAP SHEWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI IN S. ALBANIA.

[*To face p.* 114.

date of this *tekke* is vague, and, as elsewhere in Roumeli, the saint there buried is referred to the period of the Turkish conquest and his personality is frankly superhuman. On the Albanian side of the mountains, on the other hand, the dates of the saints are known and recent, and they have no pretensions to be more than the founders of the *tekkes* where their bones lie. In point of antiquity the Argyrokastro foundations claim to be earlier than Ali Pasha, but can produce no evidence. The Korytzà group, Kónitza, the important *tekke* of Frásheri, and some others are admittedly foundations of Ali's contemporaries, while many others confess to a much later origin.

With very few exceptions the saints buried in Albanian *tekkes* seem to be of small religious importance, the living abbot being much more considered. To an outsider it appears that the Albanian temperament has evolved a form of Bektashism in which the social organisation rather than the religious-superstitious side is uppermost. This is borne out also by externals ; the Bektashi *tekkes* throughout the district have no distinguishing marks and no set plan. They are generally built simply and solidly, like good country houses, and situated just outside villages, more rarely in proximity to considerable towns. The tombs of the saints are in very simple *türbes* standing well away from the main buildings, it is said for reasons of health.

Characteristic of the time at which Bektashism won its foothold in Albania—the era of the French Revolution—is the prominence given here, in theory at least, to certain liberal ideas, such as the Brotherhood of Man and the unimportance of the dogmas and formalities of religion as compared with conduct. Both these ideas and the quietist doctrines which to some extent depend on them, are latent in much dervish thought ; but they are radically opposed to the stern ideal of Islam propagated by the sword which animated the Janissaries in their days of conquest, and which shows itself in the conception of the earlier Bektashi saints as superhuman champions of the Faith.

The persecution of Sultan Mahmoud (1826) touched the Albanian Bektashi lightly, owing not only to the fact that the movement in Albania had not reached its height, but also doubtless to the wildness and inaccessibility of the country ; we may well believe, indeed, that it was a refuge for Bektashi proscribed elsewhere, certainly for those of Albanian birth.

The only orders competing with the Bektashi in Southern Albania were the orthodox Sadi (at Liaskovik) and the Khalveti; of this latter an offshoot, known as the Hayati,[1] has or had establishments at Tepelen (burnt), Liaskovik (burnt), Korytzà (ruined), Viglishta, Tchangeri, Progi, and Ochrida. The Khalveti-Hayati are said to have come into Albania later than the Bektashi, but are shewn by the date over the portal of their ruined *tekke* at Liaskovik (1211 = 1796–7) to be no recent intruders.

Sultan Abdul Medjid (1839–61) is said not only to have abstained from persecuting the Bektashi, but to have given positive orders that they were not to be molested.[2] Abdul Hamid seems to have suspected them, and is said to have sent a special emissary to Albania to report on the extent of the heresy and the number of *tekkes*, but no persecution or active measures followed. His suspicions were probably based on the participation of the Bektashi in the national movement of 1880–1, when the cession of part of Southern Albania to Greece was under discussion, and the southern Albanians rose under Abdul Bey Frasheri, ostensibly to save the threatened provinces to Turkey, but really aiming at an independent Albanian state.

The losses of the Bektashi order in Epirus during the troubles succeeding the Balkan war were enormous, many *tekkes* having been burnt to the ground, and most of the remainder looted of everything moveable by the Epirote irregulars. The nominal excuse for this was (1) that the order was implicated in the national Albanian (and therefore anti-Greek) movement, and (2) that some *tekkes* were suspected of having harboured not only 'bands' but fugitives from justice (the two categories largely overlap) and to have shared their plunder. To this the Bektashi would probably reply that they were natural allies, by blood and language, of the Albanian cause, and that hospitality, irrespective of persons, is the rule of the order. It is clear that in such a country the evident prosperity of the *tekkes*, whatever the character of their inmates, would be sufficient to attract the cupidity of guerrilla captains; several dervishes are said to have been murdered because they would not or could not disclose the whereabouts of their supposed wealth.

[1] I can find in printed sources no mention of this order or sub-order. Their patron is said to be Hassan of Basra. They can, I think, hardly be identical with Rycaut's *Hayetti* (*Present State*, 61), a heretical sect with Christian leanings, the Khalveti being regarded as orthodox.

[2] Aravantinos (**Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου**, (1857), ii. 18) notes, evidently with surprise, that in his day many of the inhabitants of Argyrokastro were *openly* Bektashi.

The following is a list of the Bektashi *tekkes* in Epirus before the Balkan war. Villages with *tekkes* are grouped with their market towns, and, the maps of the province being as yet very imperfect, their distance or direction from these centres is indicated where possible.

Argyrokastro.—Bektashism is said to have gained a footing here 'about 150 years ago.' Ali Pasha's influence was strong here owing to the marriage of his sister to a powerful local bey.[1] The chief, and now the sole surviving, *tekke* is that of Hadji Suleiman Baba, delightfully situated on a small isolated eminence near the town (Pl. XIII. 1). Before the war twenty dervishes resided here; there are now ten, of whom several are refugees from *tekkes* destroyed in Albania and elsewhere. The history of the *tekke* cannot be traced for more than 70 years; the earliest of the four *türbes* containing the graves of deceased abbots dates only from 1862–3, but according to legend Argyrokastro was visited at a vague early date by the Bektashi saints Hassan Baba[2] and Mustafa Baba, of whom the latter is buried here. There were formerly two other Bektashi *tekkes* at Argyrokastro called respectively after Ali Baba and Zein-el-abeddin Baba, the former in the town itself, the latter between it and the *tekke* of Hadji Suleiman.

In the neighbourhood of Argyrokastro (four hours S.E.) there is one *tekke*, of recent foundation, at **Nepravishta.**

At Tepelen, the birth-place of Ali, there was never a Bektashi *tekke*, though until the war there were several in villages of the district. These are:—

Doúka (half-an-hour).

Touran; the saint is Ali Baba.

Velikeui (half-an-hour).

Nemalía (one hour); the *tekke* is said to be seventy years old.

Kóshdan (one-and-a-half hours); the saint is Ismail Baba and the *tekke* is said to be 100 years old.

All these *tekkes* were destroyed in the recent troubles. Leake notes 'a Tekiéh or convent of dervises' on the slopes of Mt. Trebushin, across the river from Tepelen.[3] From its position this was probably a Bektashi establishment.[4]

At **Premeti,** where three-quarters of the Moslem population were

[1] Leake, *N. Greece*, i. 40. [2] See above, *Thessaly*. [3] *N. Greece*, i. 31.
[4] Above, p. 111.

Bektashi, there is a *tekke*, said to be fifty or sixty years old, on the slope of the hill above the town,[1] containing the grave of Bektash Baba. Troops are now (1915) lodged in the *tekke*, and the dervishes have settled in the town.

Ali Postivan, in this neighbourhood, had a *tekke* with tomb of Ali Baba, burnt in 1914.

Kónitza.—This is said to be the oldest *tekke* in the district. It contains the grave of Haidar Baba, and was undamaged in 1915.[2]

Liaskovik.—The population of this (till the war) thriving hill-town is largely Bektashi.[3] The *tekke* just outside it, on a hill above the Kolonia road, is said to have been about thirty-five years old; it contained the grave of Abeddin Baba, and housed seven or eight dervishes. It is now entirely destroyed.

Batchka (S) was founded from Meltchan,[4] and is now destroyed.

There is a *ziaret* or pilgrimage at Vrepska in this district.

Frásheri.—Here, before the war, was a large and important *tekke* tenanted by about twenty dervishes, and containing the tomb of the *Sheikh* Nasibi. This saint, who was a contemporary of Ali Pasha, is much revered, and it is said that the Tosks use his name in asseverations instead of God's. His original name was Moharrem Baba, but when he made his pilgrimage to the *tekke* of Hadji Bektash, the door of the *tekke* opened to him of its own accord, and the abbot, recognising a miracle, said, 'It is thy fate (*nasib*).' Nasibi, with *Sheikh* Ali and *Sheikh* Mimi, is said to have foretold to Ali Pasha his brilliant future, warning him also of the fate which would overtake him if he failed to govern justly. The *tekke* of Frásheri, with the tomb of Nasibi, was burnt to the ground in 1914, and is now beginning to be inhabited by a few dervishes.

In the upland pastoral district of Kolonïa, which centres in the half-ruined village of Herseka, were the following *tekkes*, all destroyed since the war:—

Kréshova (two hours north of Herseka), with tomb of Hassan Baba.

[1] The *tekke* is described by Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, 228.

[2] The son of a dervish *sheikh* at Kónitza (probably, therefore, a Bektashi), was martyred for Christianity at Vrachori in 1814 ('St. John the Neomartyr of Kónitza,' for whose life see **Νέον Λειμωνάριον**, 331).

[3] Cf. Durham, *op. cit.* 217. Since the war many of the well-to-do Bektashi have fled to Yannina.

[4] Below p. 119.

Kessáraka, with tomb of Hadji Baba.

Bármash (S. of Herseka), with tomb of Baba Suleiman, thirty-five years old; it had about five dervishes before the war.

Istária, about twenty-five years old.

In the district of Korytzà are four *tekkes*.

Meltchan, the chief of these, stands on high ground above the village of the same name, and half-an-hour right of the high road to Moschopolis. The *tekke* was looted by the Greek insurgents, but the solid and homely buildings were spared. The date of the foundation is given as 'a hundred and eight years ago'—probably the date of the death of the founder (Hussein Baba), who is buried in a simple *türbe*, in this case octagonal, away from the dwelling-rooms; the antechamber of the *türbe* is used for incubation by the sick. An abbot (who takes precedence *ex-officio* of all local abbots) and five dervishes are now in residence. There is no mosque or *mesdjid*, the antechamber of one of the *türbes* being used as such when required.

Kiatoroùm is a smaller *tekke*, apparently modern,[1] about three-quarters of an hour south of Korytzà, and a few minutes from the village of the same name. No abbot has been appointed since the insurrection, when the *tekke* was looted. It was tenanted by one dervish.

Touràn, half-an-hour south-west of Korytzà, is a still smaller foundation; it is a dependency of Meltchan and has no abbot. The saint buried there is Ali Baba.

A link between Epirus and Macedonia is formed by the *tekke* of **Khoutsh,** half-an-hour beyond Viglishta on the road from Korytzà to Kastoria. The *tekke* stands in the village of the same name. It possesses a *türbe* containing the graves of nine anonymous saints, said as usual to be of great (but vague) antiquity. I was told by the abbot at Kastoria that Khoutsh was founded by a certain Ibrahim Baba after the persecution of 1826. The chief saint, Hafouz Baba, died only eight years ago. Khoutsh is now tenanted by an abbot and two dervishes. It was looted, but not burnt, by the Epirotes.

[1] I was told at Metchan that all the three *tekkes* of Korytzà were contemporary; but at Kiatoroùm itself that the latter was only thirty-five years old: the latter date may refer to the buildings, which are certainly not older.

X.—ALBANIA.

In the present principality of Albania the chief Bektashi district is that of Malakastra in the south. Further north Bektashism is only sporadic owing to the strong *Sunni* opinions and consequent opposition of the Ghegs. Malakastra is a Tosk district, lying between the river Voiousa (Aoüs) and that of Berat (Lioumi Beratit); its Bektashism is a natural continuation of that of Tepelen, from which it is divided only by a purely artificial frontier.

The numerous Bektashi *tekkes* which existed in Malakastra before the war are now deserted and in ruins; such as escaped the Christian Epirote irregulars immediately after the war were recently destroyed by the Gheg followers of Essad Pasha of Tirana.[1] The history of the conversion of this district to Bektashism is vague; all seem agreed that it is recent, and more recent than in Greek Albania. The *tekkes* of Gláva and Kápani have been cited to me as the oldest, their age being assessed at 'a hundred' and 'thirty-five' years respectively. There seems considerable probability that the beginnings of the propaganda are as old as the time of Ali Pasha, since we know that the sect was established further north (at Croia, *q.v.*) in his time, and some Bektashi claim that Omer Vrioni of Berat and a certain Mahmoud Bey of Avlona, contemporaries of Ali, were in the movement.[2] Traces of Bektashism are to be found both at Avlona and at Berat, and neither Omar nor Mahmoud are, like Ali, great figures to which popular tradition refers all events indiscriminately.

In the Malakastra district were the following *tekkes*, some of which I have been unable to place on the map :—

Gláva.
Mélani.
Rabía.
Aranítasi.
Kràs: the saint buried here is Moharrem Baba.
Doúkasi.
Prishta: this is said to be an important *tekke*.
Dervishíeh.

[1] Essad is the great-grandson of the murderer of Mimi.
[2] Degrand cites also a contemporary Ibrahim Bey of Kavaia as a member of the sect.

Boúbizi: here three *tekkes* were burnt by the Epirotes.
Kápani.
Krémanar.
Komari.
Osman Zeza.
Maritza.
Greshitza.
Panarit: a recent *tekke*.
Shent Mraiñ, or 'Place of the Saint,' so-called from a legendary visit of Sari Saltik.

At Avlona, Patsch noted the grave of a Bektashi saint, Kosum Baba,[1] and at Hekali a cemetery containing graves marked by the Bektashi mitre (*taj*).[2]

Outside the Malakastra district, Bektashi *tekkes* exist, or existed till recently, in South Albania, at **Berat,** east of the latter at **Driza** on the Devol and **Tomoritza,**[3] to the south at **Threpel,** and to the north, on the head waters of the Mati, at **Martanesh.**

In northern Albania, where, as we have said, the majority of the Moslem population is *Sunni*, there are Bektashi *tekkes* at the following places:—

Elbassan.—This *tekke*, founded by a certain Moustafa Baba who was buried there, was recently destroyed by the Ghegs.

Dibra.—The *tekke* here is likewise said to have been destroyed by the Ghegs.

Bektashi *Ziarets* at Durazzo and Shiakh may be inferred from Degrand's version of the Sari Saltik legend.[4] The population of Tirana is said by the same author to be equally divided between the Bektashi and Rufaï sects.[5]

Croia.—The population of this town seems to be almost exclusively Bektashi. Its extraordinary importance as a place of Bektashi pilgrimage is brought out by Degrand's interesting account of the saints' tombs, traditionally 366 in number, in and about the town.[6] Bektashism seems to have been introduced here towards the end of the eighteenth

[1] *Berat*, 11. [2] *Ibid.* 118.
[3] For a Bektashi (?) cult on Mt. Tomor in this district see Baldacci in *Bull. R. Soc. Geogr.* (Roma), 1915, 978.
[4] *Haute Albanie*, 240. [5] *Ibid.* 194.
[6] *Ibid.* 221 ff.: cf. Ippen, *Skutari*, 71 ff.; *Wiss. Mitth. aus Bosnien* vii. 60.

century by Ali Pasha's agent, *Sheikh* Mimi, who founded a *tekke* at Croia in 1807 and at first made common cause with the local chief, Kaplan Pasha Topdan, as against his neighbour the Pasha of Scutari,[1] who was hostile to Ali of Yannina. The missionary *sheikh* afterwards fell out with Kaplan Pasha, either as the latter said, because he had been bought by the Pasha of Scutari, or possibly because he suspected Kaplan Pasha himself of similar disloyalty to Ali and the Bektashi party. Kaplan ordered Mimi to quit Croia; the *sheikh* retaliated by an unsuccessful attempt to murder the pasha, which cost him his own life. But public feeling in Croia was so strong for Mimi, that the Topdan family were unable to reside there and moved to Tirana.[2] The family quarrel of the Topdan with the Bektashi is, as we have seen, perpetuated by their modern representative, Essad Pasha.

Croia is one of the many places associated with the adventures of the Bektashi saint Sari Saltik.[3] Of the two chief *tekkes*, one ('Mali Krush') contains a grave of this saint, the other ('Fush Krush' an hour-and-a-half from the town) that of Baba Ali; the latter is described by Ippen in some detail. From Skutari the Bektashi were banished for political reasons in the time of Ali Pasha,[4] and seem never to have regained a footing there

XI.—AUSTRO-HUNGARY.

A.—BOSNIA.

There has been no Bektashi *tekke* in Bosnia since 1903, though the sect lingers on and the communities are visited from time to time by *sheikhs* from Albania.[5]

B.—BUDAPEST.

The furthest outpost of Bektashism is the *tekke* of Gul Baba, a relic of the Turkish occupation, which is still one of the minor sights of the Hungarian capital.[6]

F. W. HASLUCK.

[1] So we find Kaplan at the end of the eighteenth century celebrated a victory over his rival by building a *türbe* to the Bektashi saint Hamza Baba (Ippen, *op. cit.* 71).

[2] Degrand.

[3] *B.S.A.* xix. 207, cf. xx. 106 ff.: I have heard, but not very definitely, of a hitherto unrecorded tomb of Sari Saltik at Khass, between Scutari and Djakova.

[4] Ippen, *Skutari*, 36. [5] *Ibid.* 73.

[6] See E. Browne, *Travels* (1673), 34; M. Walker, *Old Tracks*, 289; J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, 88; *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Ungarn* (III.), p. 96; Baedeker, *Oesterreich-Ungarn*, etc.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACT ON THE BEKTASHI *TEKKES* OF THESSALY.[1]

. . . South-east of this village [Irinì and Rinì in the deme of Skotousa], in a hilly and romantic situation among tall and shady trees (planes, dwarf-oaks, and cornels), stands the *tekke* of the Bektashi, an establishment famous throughout all Thessaly. In it, according to Government statistics, reside thirty-nine dervishes, but at the time of my visit (1888) I was told that there were, exclusive of servitors, fifty-four, all illiterate and superstitious Albanians. An intelligent dervish informed me that the *tekke* was formerly a monastery of the Western church,[2] and that the Turks took it over about 1630–40; there was a church of S. Demetrius, but the dervishes say it was dedicated to S. George, on account of the greater veneration they affect towards the latter.[3] For a time the *tekke* was occupied by Turkish dervishes from the great *tekke*, called Koulakli Baba, at Konia.[4] But during the despotic reign of the famous Ali Pasha of Tepelen (according to the *Phonì toù Laoù* [5]), who justified his contempt for religion by pretending to be a follower of the liberal Bektashi, it was given to the Albanians; at this time there were founded in Thessaly certain convents which were rather political rallying-points for the surrounding population than religious establishments. There were four such convents, all situated at strategic points, commanding the more frequented highways. These were the *tekkes* of Tourbali Sultan near Rinì, on the road from Volo to Pharsala and Kharditsa; of Bali Baba, near the village of Tatar, on the road between Lamia, Larissa, and Pharsala; of Shahin Baba, near the village of Kupekli; and Baba Tekke, in the celebrated Vale of Tempe, on the road from Larissa to Tsagesi. These *tekkes* became the regular resorts of criminals, who plundered and spoiled the surrounding populations. So that, at the time of the destruction of the Janissaries by Sultan Mahmoud in 1826, an imperial order was issued for the destruction of the Bektashi, and the population, both Christian and Mahommedan, fell upon the *tekkes* and drove out their inmates. Two *tekkes*, those of the villages Tatar and Kupekli, were burnt: that of Rinì, either because its inmates put up a more determined resistance, or because it lay some distance

[1] This is a translation of an article from the Volo periodical **Προμηθεύς**, 1893, No. 55, pp. 442 f., to which my attention was called by M. Pericles Apostolides of Volo. The periodical in question was edited, and seems to have been written also, by an Athonite monk, Zosimas.

[2] On this point Mr. Apostolides has kindly supplied me with the following additional information: 'I was told at the *tekke* of Rinì that an inscribed slab with Latin characters was preserved there: this may be the tomb of some Franciscan abbot. According to a *chrysoboullon* of the monastery of Makryniotissa the lands of this foundation extended to the district of Seratzi Irini (*Σερατζῆ Ἰρινύ*). It is therefore most probable that this site was occupied and the monastery built by Franciscans in the Frankish period.' The existence of a Franciscan monastery in seventeenth-century Thessaly seems to me highly improbable. Confusion has probably arisen from the inscription in letters really or supposedly 'Frankish.'

[3] In **Προμηθεὺς**, 1891 (p. 268), the same author writes: 'There is a local tradition that the dervishes preserve to the present day a picture of S. Demetrius and burn lamps before it. I questioned the dervishes on this subject, but was not allowed to see the picture.'

[4] The 'great *tekke* at Konia' can hardly be other than that of the Mevlevi dervishes, who wear a headdress called *Koulaḥ* ('tower').

[5] Apparently the Volo newspaper (1882–4) of that name, but I have searched it in vain to find this reference.

from Pharsala, was spared. From 1833 onwards all sorts of rascals, sometimes even brigands, began once more to congregate in it on the pretence of doing penance, and this state of things continued till the last years of Turkish rule under the direction of a former servant of the Muslim Aga, a certain Bairam Aga, who continues to preside over the *tekke*. Under him the system of rapine and pillage reached its height: the whole countryside was subjected by the raids of his armed brigands. A wily and far-sighted man, he legitimised his oppressive acts after the Union [1] by forged documents, supplied him by the Turkish authorities, making the *tekke* his personal property. He had still two or three monks and a few servitors to back him.

There is a local tradition that the *tekke* was built on the site of an ancient Byzantine monastery of S. George, but it is impossible to confirm this by investigation as long as the Albanians remain in possession. The *tekke* has defences like a small fortress [2] and entrance is forbidden.

At the time of the Union there were fifty monks or dervishes in the *tekke*: there are now only three and some paid servitors of Bairam Baba, all Albanians. The dervishes who formerly lived here were remarkable for the fact that they wore in their right ears a great iron earring,[3] and hanging on their breasts an eight-sided stone [4]: the novices wore white caps, and all shaved their heads once a week.

[1] *I.e.* of Thessaly with Greece, 1882.

[2] This is an absurd exaggeration: the chief defences are two sheep-dogs.

[3] This is the distinguishing mark of celibate dervishes of the Bektashi order.

[4] This is evidently the *Teslim Tash* ('Stone of Resignation') of the Bektashi, which has, however, generally a twelve-pointed form.

RHYTHM IN BYZANTINE MUSIC.

A UNIFORM method of transcription, immediately applicable to all Byzantine melodies, is the great desideratum of musical theorists in order that this music may become available for general study and performance. At present there is a tolerable agreement about the interval-signs, which indicated the progression of the melody, both in the Round system, beginning in the late twelfth century, and also in its offshoot, the Cucuzelian system, whose use lasted until the reforms of Chrysanthus, about 1821. The Linear systems prevailing in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are obscure, but our knowledge of the Round system, gained since 1870, is no mean achievement and bodes well for further progress.

While the melodic signs are intelligible, the utmost disagreement prevails about rhythm and tonality. Every student tries to please himself, and the result to the ordinary reader is entire perplexity. The rhythm of Byzantine hymnody forms the subject of the present article. The matter is made more difficult by the lack of any positive check on the ultimate result. If in working out the interval-signs we make a false step, the outcome will be an impossible cadence. But the rhythmical indications are too vague for mathematical certainty to be attainable. Nevertheless I am venturing to put forward what seems to me a fair and reasonable method of transcription both for the Round and for the Cucuzelian systems. The problem of tonality is beyond the scope of this paper. I hope to return to it at some later date, and meanwhile have followed the most generally accepted views. It must be borne in mind that, as the interval-signs only give the progression of a melody without any guide to absolute pitch or tonality, the question of the modes does not in the least affect our

interpretation of those signs; and *a fortiori* it does not invalidate any conclusions upon the rhythm.

EXISTING THEORIES.

The following views are before the public as to the rhythm of Byzantine music:—

(1) Gastoué, without stating any theoretical grounds, adopts a free rhythm like plain-song, giving equal values to nearly all his notes.

(2) Fleischer holds that a 4-beat rhythm prevailed in Byzantine music. His method of arriving at this will be examined below.

(3) Gaisser in his transcripts shews a free rhythm, but in his tentative restorations he gives strict time of various species. This he puts forward rather as representing the composer's intention than the literal meaning of the MSS.

(4) Riemann considers that Byzantine hymns are uniformly divisible into *cola* or phrases, each representing exactly two bars of common time, thus: or its equivalent. He allows lengthening or subdivision of notes, to fit any passage into his scheme.[1]

In my previous articles I adopted, with certain reservations, the theory of Riemann. But further study has led me to discard it and to profess general agreement with Gastoué.

The proposition to be proved may now be enunciated as follows:—

In the classical period of the Round Notation (*i.e.* from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries) the rhythm of the music is free; the unit of length (quaver)[2] is not subdivided, but may be prolonged over two beats (crotchet); ornamentation is extra-rhythmic.[3]

In the Cucuzelian system subdivided notes (semiquavers) are allowed;[4] and prolongation to a dotted quaver or a minim is also possible.

[1] Gastoué, Am. *Introduction à la Paléographie Musicale Byzantine* (Paris, 1907); Fleischer, O. *Neumen-Studien*, T. iii. (Berlin, 1904), 66 ff.; Gaisser, U. *Les Heirmoi de Pâques* (Rome, 1905), 18 ff. and 88 ff.; Riemann, H. *Die byzantinische Notenschrift* (Leipsic, 1909), 17 ff.

[2] The quaver is here adopted as the unit of length in accordance with the practice of modern books on plain-song. For the system of Chrysanthus, where minuter subdivision is frequent, the *crochet* is more convenient.

[3] See below, p. 133.

[4] The interval-signs have the same values in the Round and in the Cucuzelian systems; but the use of rhythmical signs is different.

RHYTHMICAL SYMBOLS AND THEIR VALUES.

The basis of our discussion will be found in (1) remarks in mediaeval handbooks, and (2) the usage of MSS. in their musical text. The mediaeval treatise going under the name of Hagiopolites[1] says: 'Every sign has its own peculiar quality; some, like the Oligon, Oxeia, Petaste, and Kouphisma, have their own function without prolongation. Others, such as the Diple and Kratema, have prolongation without sound. Others have neither sound nor prolongation, but only Chironomia (or musical gesticulation). . .'[2]

There follows a list of nine symbols, including Piasma, Tzakisma, Tromikon and Apoderma.[3]

The well-known manual called *Papadike*[4] also assigns time-value to some of the signs. The passage is very obscure, and does not occur in all copies.[5] The Hadrianople MS. has[6]:—

Εἰσὶ δὲ τρεῖς [ἡμίσειαι] μεγάλαι ἄργειαι, τὸ κράτημα (sign inserted) καὶ ἡ διπλῆ (*ditto*) καὶ οἱ δύο ἀπόστροφοι οἱ καὶ σύνδεσμοι· (*ditto*) τὸ δὲ τζάκισμα (*ditto*) ἔχει τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἄργειαν.

I bracket ἡμίσειαι and render thus:—'There are three great prolongation-marks, Kratema, Diple, and the Two or Connected Apostrophi; the Tzakisma has half prolongation.'[7]

It will be seen that in giving time-value to Diple and Kratema the *Papadike* agrees with Hagiopolites. The remark about the Double Apostrophus (as it may be more shortly called) causes no difficulty, in

[1] Quoted by Thibaut, J. *Origine byzantine de la Notation neumatique de l'Église latine* (Paris, 1907), 58.

[2] Many signs are supposed to have been derived from certain gestures made with the hand to indicate various progressions of the melody. Cf. Thibaut, *ibid.* 56.

[3] For all symbols connected with rhythm, v. Fig. 1.

[4] This famous treatise is ascribed by some authors (*e.g.* Gastoué, *op. cit.* 21) to the elder Cucuzeles, who may have lived about 1300. It seems likely that the work, originally more ancient, has passed through many hands and that its extant forms are comparatively late editions.

[5] *E.g.* the manuscripts Vatican, *Barb. gr.* 300, and Laconia, Ἅγιοι Τεσσαράκοντα, 76 do not contain it.

[6] Published by Paranikas in Ἑλλ. Φιλ. Σύλλογος, τόμος ΚΑ', 164; cf. Fleischer, *op. cit.* c. 3.

[7] Another MS. Cambridge Univ. Lib. G.g. 1. 2. F. gives τρεῖς ἥμισυ ἀργ. and ἥμισυ ἄργειαν; while Riemann (*op. cit.* 39) seems to have found τρεῖς ἥμισυ μεγάλαι ἀργίαι in his copy. It is possible that the writer here meant to say that there were 'three and a half' prolongation-marks:—this would be the meaning in late Greek. The total result in either case is the same. But to say that there are 'three half prolongation-marks,' and then add '*But* the Tz. has half prolongation' is nonsense. Hence the need for the emendation already suggested. Ἀργία, not ἄργεια, seems to be the proper form.

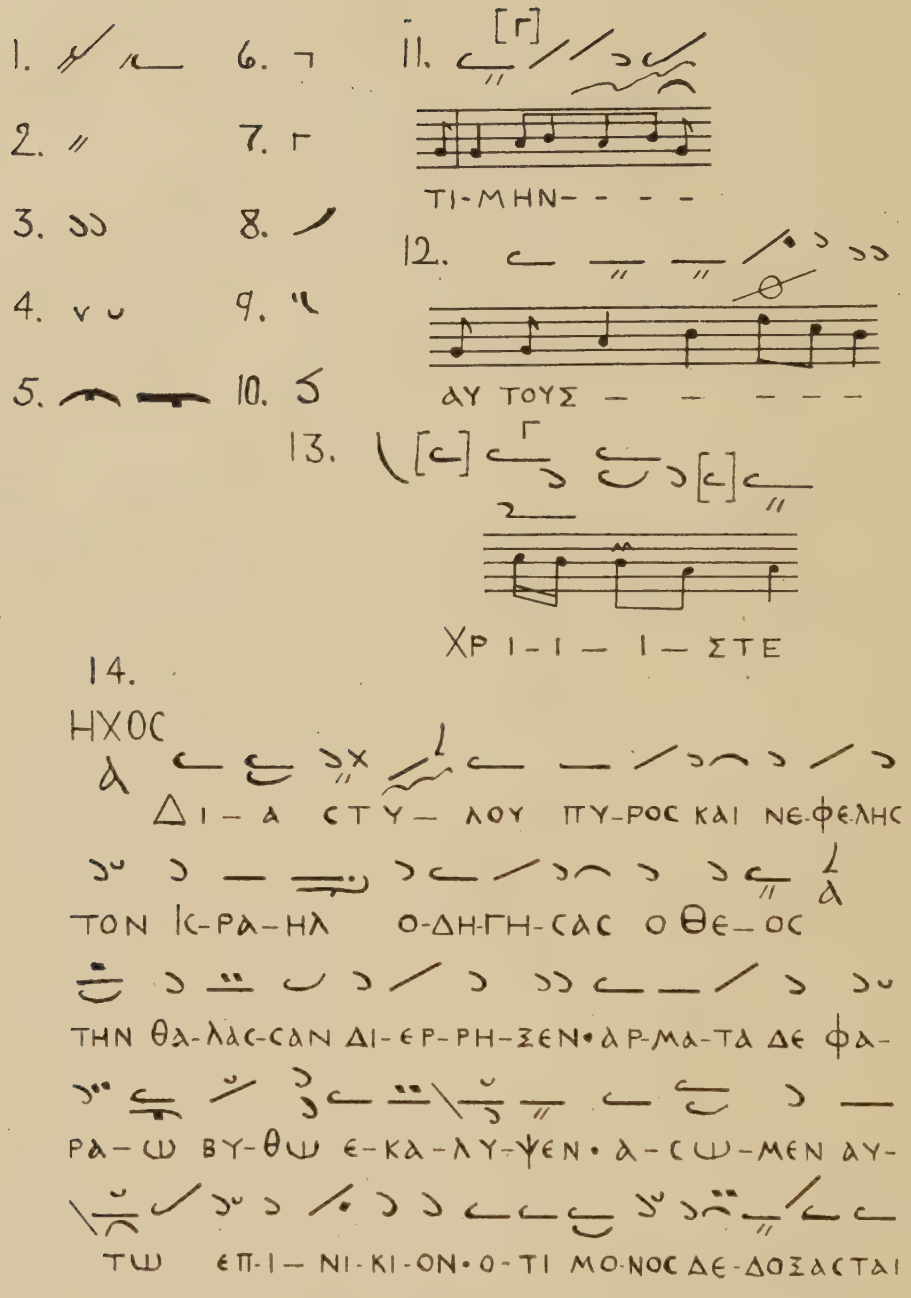


FIG. 1.—1. KRATEMA (two forms). 2. DIPLE. 3. DOUBLE APOSTROPHUS. 4. KLASMA or TZAKISMA (two forms). 5. APODERMA or APODOMA (two forms). 6. ARGON. 7. GORGON. 8. PSEPHISTON. 9. PIASMA. 10. TROMIKON. 11, 12. ORNAMENTAL CADENCES IN ROUND SYSTEM (see p. 133). 13. CADENCE IN CUCUZELIAN SYSTEM. 14. HIRMUS, FIRST ODE, from MS. Trinity Coll. Cantab. 1165, f. 6.

spite of the silence of the older treatise. But the value of the Klasma or Tzakisma[1] is a matter demanding further discussion. W. Christ[2] gives four subsidiary signs with time-functions, viz., Klasma, Gorgon, Argon and Haple. His account of them, answering exactly to modern usage, is almost certainly based on the system of Chrysanthus,[3] by whom the Haple (an offshoot of the Diple) was first introduced. W. Christ adds that the 'anonymous writer' of the Middle Ages declares the Klasma to double the length of a cadential note. But as this remark does not appear in any known copy of the *Papadike*, we may safely conclude that W. Christ is still following Chrysanthus. In the Chrysanthine system this use of the Klasma is clear, but, as W. Christ well observed, it is not so found in mediaeval MSS.

Fleischer, who did not find the remark on Prolongation-marks in his copy of the *Papadike*,[4] holds that the Klasma is used on unaccented notes preceding the strong ictus of a bar. At the present day, in the Chrysanthine system, it prolongs a note either to twice its length or to half as much again (*i.e.*, a quaver would become a crochet, or, if a Gorgon were added, a dotted quaver).

The MSS. of the classical Round Notation do not support either of these views. The Klasma is often found on an unaccented note lying near an accented syllable. To class it in such cases as a mark of prolongation would be absurd. On the other hand, it often marks the *first* note of a group, and therefore does not need to come immediately before an accented note. Its name, from κλάω, to break, or τζακίζω, to separate, suggests that it marks a detached note with a very slight secondary accent. Our transcription can safely omit the Klasma in such cases; the effect will be adequately secured by the intelligent singing of the words and notes themselves.

But in the Cucuzelian system it seems probable that the Klasma had a function more like its modern use, *i.e.*, when a Gorgon follows, the result is a dotted quaver and a semiquaver. This is exactly what 'half pro-

[1] The identity of Klasma and Tzakisma seems certain. They originally had the shape ν and later υ. The form given by Riemann, *op. cit.* is unusual. He makes the mistake (p. 37) of calling the semi-circular Klasma 'Epiphonus' and giving it musical sound.

[2] *Anthologia graeca Carminum Christianorum*, Introd. cxxv.

[3] Chrysanthus, Θεωρητικὸν μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς. (Final edition, Trieste, 1832: reprint—which I use—Athens, 1911.) See especially, §§ 116–127.

[4] *Op. cit.* c. 3; nor yet in the Codex Chrysander. Cf. c. 5.

longation' ought to mean. Otherwise it probably had no time-value, but still marked a slight accent. Since Chrysanthus dropped the Double Apostrophus and Kratema,[1] and seems to have misunderstood the Diple, he may well have given a new force to the Klasma.

As to the other three signs, the MS. usage is fairly consistent in both systems, and the names of Diple and Double Apostrophus obviously suggest notes of double length. I propose, therefore, to count as a crochet any note charged with either of these symbols or with the Kratema.

The following subsidiaries, though not so described in the *Papadike*, are usually believed to affect the rhythm :—

Apoderma or Apodoma.—This, I believe, always occurs on accented or cadential notes. In spite of Hagiopolites, as quoted above, critics agree that it implies lengthening. I would therefore give it double time-value.

Argon. '*Slow-sign.*'—This in modern music indicates a tied note. It is of rare occurrence in MSS. of the Round system, and probably only needs a slight *ad libitum rallentando*, not amounting to double time-value.

Gorgon. '*Quick-sign.*'—In modern music it indicates rapid notes.[2] In the early Round Notation it is seldom used, but is very frequent in the Cucuzelian. Fleischer[3] holds that its use is similar to the Klasma's, viz., to mark an unaccented note before a strong ictus. It seems more likely that the same thing has happened with the Gorgon as has already been suggested for the Klasma. In the Round system, to which Hagiopolites primarily refers, it had no specific effect on the time, but was used as a warning against the usual *rallentando* at cadences. Under Cucuzeles the Gorgon seems to have gained a definite function in the subdivision of notes. The rules seem to be: (1) Two notes to one vowel, marked with a Gorgon and no other time-symbol, become semiquavers. (2) Two plain interval-signs, belonging to separate vowels and similarly marked, also become semiquavers, the Gorgon usually standing over the second. (3) Klasma followed by Gorgon makes a dotted quaver and semiquaver, as already stated. (4) If a single syllable with the Gorgon follows an accented syllable, or one marked with Diple, Kratema, Double Apostro-

[1] *Op. cit.* § 129, where his list of Hypostases, excluding the Kr. is given.

[2] A single Gorgon halves the unit of beat, making, *e.g.*, two semiquavers; a two-fold Gorgon makes a triplet; a three-fold Gorgon makes four demi-semiquavers. (These latter are modern inventions.) Gastoué, *op. cit.* 3, cf. 43, 46, holds that the Gorgon in the MSS. had the same function as now.

[3] *Op. cit.* 71.

phus, or Apoderma, or forming a medial cadence, then the Gorgon indicates a semiquaver preceded by a rest. (5) If the Gorgon stands over a Little Ison (except in cases where Rule 1 applies, when the Little Ison loses its effect on rhythm altogether), the two counteract each other; and the result is a note of ordinary length. (The Little Ison is put over double consonants, and makes, with the following sign, probably a note of double length, usually preceded by a grace-note.)[1]

Psephiston.—Theorists agree that this marks accented (usually ascending) notes without prolongation.[2]

Piasma.—Riemann is probably wrong in classing this as a prolongation-sign,[3] since Hagiopolites denies it such function. Fleischer considers that it serves to mark steps of a semitone.[4] But as his examples are all from one late MS., we cannot take this assertion as proved. In other late MSS. it usually marks a group of descending notes. In early MSS. it hardly ever occurs, but also seems to indicate groups of notes. Historically it is a relic of the Double Bareia, a descending interval-sign, with prolongation, used in the Linear system (eleventh and twelfth centuries). In the Round system it probably had no positive effect on the rhythm, but, like other subsidiaries, merely helped the singer to follow the course of the melody.

Tromikon.—Riemann and Gaisser[5] take this for a passing shake. Fleischer considers it as an indication *not* to subdivide the value of a group of notes set to one vowel.[6] For this there is no evidence whatever. It is far likelier that the Tromikon, which rarely occurs in MSS. before the sixteenth century, simply expresses, pictorially as it were, a musical figure already indicated by the interval-signs.[7]

The use of the rhythmical signs so far explained is well shewn in a short Hallelujah from a late MS. I quote it because, since no questions of metre and phrasing enter into consideration, the reader can easily

[1] Cf. Fleischer, *op. cit.* 64 and 72 (where his explanation of the use of the Gorgon is exactly the opposite of mine).

[2] Chrysanthus, 133; Gastoué, *op. cit.* 36 (No. 32); Gaisser, *op. cit.* 9, etc.

[3] P. 39, Gastoué (*ibid.*) gives no explanation; Gaisser and Thibaut, *op. cit.* do not even mention it.

[4] P. 59.

[5] Riemann, 40; Gaisser, *l.c.*

[6] P. 73.

[7] Cf. the use of Tromikon in the practice example reproduced by Fleischer, *Facs.* p. 27; and Riemann's transcription, *op. cit.* 41. The majority of Hypostases or subsidiary signs are known to have been used in the manner above explained. (Tromikon occurs once in the four-fold Hallelujah reproduced in this article, p. 132.)

decide, on musical grounds, whether the method proposed gives a satisfactory result.

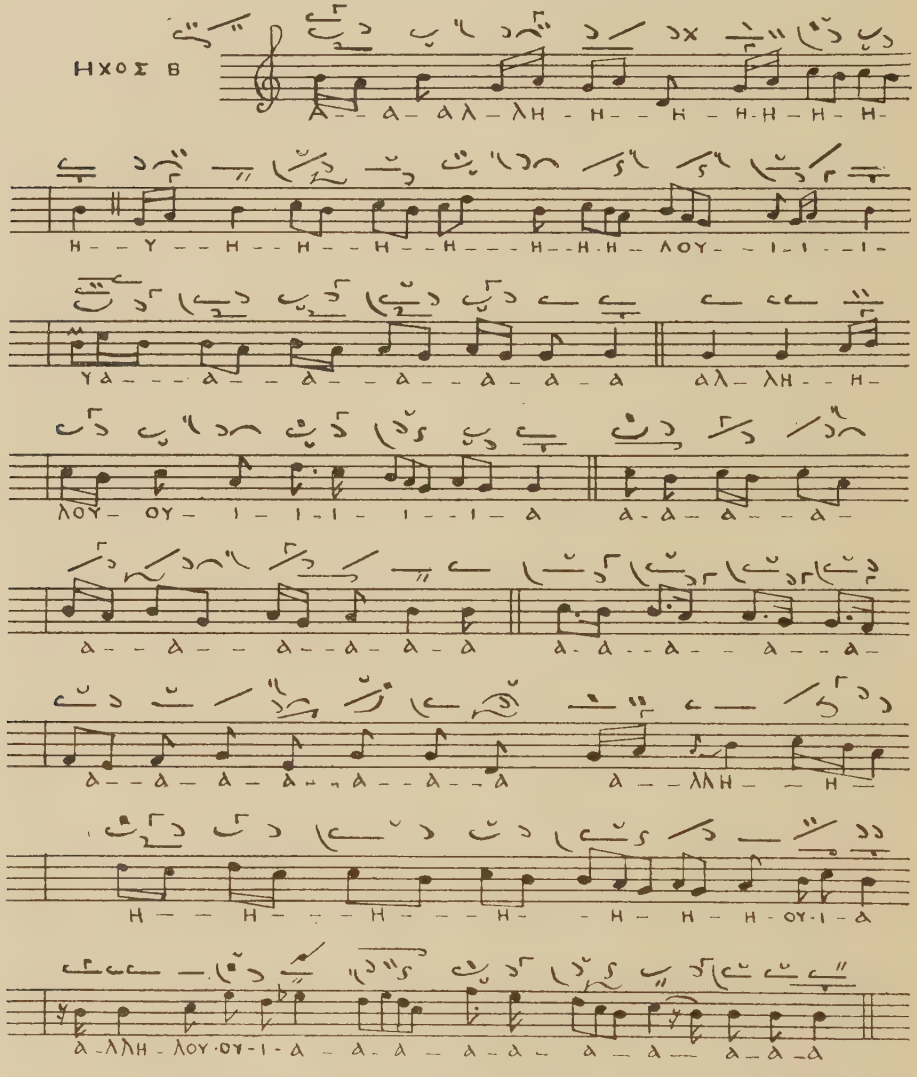


FIG. 2.—FOUR-FOLD HALLELUJAH FROM MS. IN CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, *Add.* 2936, f. 49*b* (16th–17th Cent.). Mode II. (Starting Note *b*)—*Adagio*.

Here the Gorgon is used eighteen times (omitting one doubtful case) where two or more symbols are charged upon one vowel. It is used five

times where there is only one symbol over a vowel; in two of these cases a prolonged note precedes. Klasma occurs eight times with single-interval symbols set to one vowel, and eighteen times over a symbol that shares a vowel with some other symbol; in six of the latter cases the second symbol has the Gorgon. The remaining subsidiary signs, being chiefly slurs or marks of slight accent, need no explanation here. The *e*-flat in the last line is the probable meaning of the Phthora of the Chromatic Mode or Nenano, which appears above it.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR DETERMINING THE RHYTHM.

We have now mentioned all the subsidiary signs for which a rhythmical effect has been claimed. But so far we have not faced the fundamental question at issue. In older MSS. the majority of interval-signs bear no Hypostasis whatever. Are the notes to be taken as of equal time-value, or are some notes to be lengthened and others shortened according to any *a priori* rule?

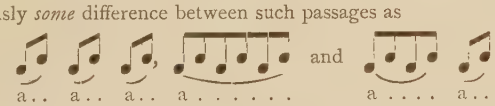
Fleischer's Theory.—On this view, groups of notes over any syllable, unless the vowel be repeated or a Tromikon or some lengthening mark be added, must divide among themselves the unit of time. Thus he takes the crochet as the standard length: so, if there are two notes to a syllable, he writes quavers; if more, a triplet, or semiquavers, and so on.[1]

It has already been seen that this account of the Tromikon is unjustified. Repetition of vowels was probably a device to relieve the singer's memory or to aid him in voice-production.[2] But its use is too inconsistent for us to believe that it had a specific effect on the time. This, I think, can be easily proved by the study of certain familiar musical figures which occur with slight variations, over and over again in the MSS.

(1) A medial cadential flourish from the Round Notation. Very common (see Fig. 1, No. 11). I have noted the following varieties from several different MSS.—Five cases with vowel not repeated, two of these having the Gorgon; two cases with the vowel written twice, both with Gorgon; one case with the vowel written thrice,

[1] P. 71, Nos. 5 and 6; and exx. *passim.*

[2] There is obviously *some* difference between such passages as



such fine shades of vocal effect may have been in the mediaeval composers' minds.

no Gorgon. Examples could be multiplied; and it seems clear that the same figure was intended in every case. If so, neither the Gorgon nor the repetition of the vowel affected the rhythm, and all cases may be transcribed as in the diagram.

(2) (Fig. 1, No. 12.) Another common ornament in the Round Notation. The vowel is written indifferently once, twice, three or four times. The same inference follows. (The subsidiary sign called *Thematismus eso* only summarises the phrase without adding anything to it.)

(3) (Fig. 1, No. 13.) A cadence in the Cucuzelian system. I have collected twenty-three examples from the *Eothina* (Morning Resurrection-Hymns of the Emperor Leo, 886–911) as given in a late MS. which I bought at Athens in 1912 and have called Codex Moreatae after its original owner. It was probably written in the late seventeenth century and contains, besides the above, the Kekragaria and other selections.

The Gorgon is only omitted once, probably by mistake. The Little Ison is used only over double consonants. The vowel is written either once, twice or thrice (the two latter being more common).

It seems obvious that in all these cases the repetition of the vowel depended purely on the scribe and had no effect upon the length of the notes.

Fleischer also claims that nearly all Byzantine music, if transcribed by his rules, will fall naturally into 4-time. But (1) we have now seen that several of these supposed rules must be abandoned; (2) Fleischer in some cases ignores the prolongation-marks when they conflict with his theory;[1] (3) Even so, a very large number of his examples fail to adapt themselves to his scheme.[2] If we allow any manipulation of the rhythm, we lose what we most need, namely, a safe and uniform method of transcription. I prefer, therefore, to leave the unit of beat undivided in the Round system, and in the Cucuzelian only to divide it when the presence of the Gorgon justifies this course.

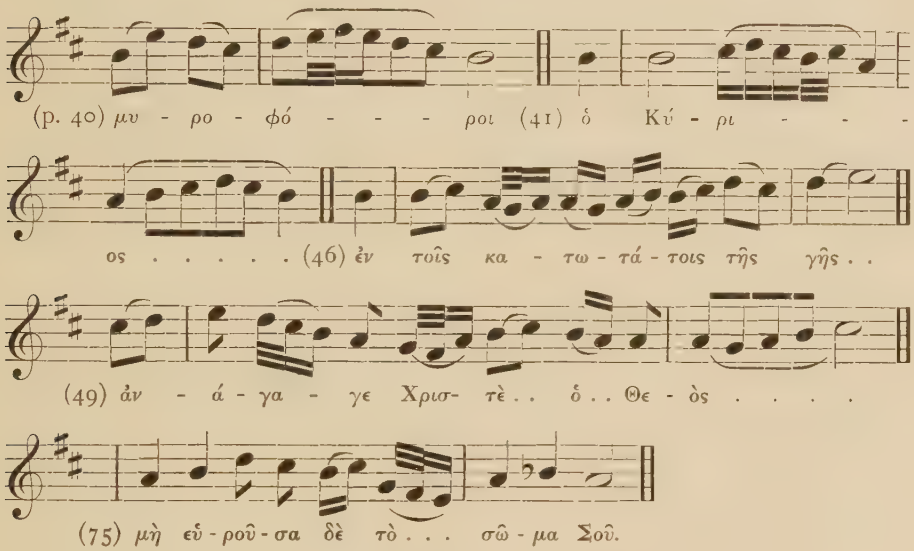
Riemann's Theory.—I have already mentioned that, according to this hypothesis, the metrical unit is the *colon* or versicle. In MSS. of the Round System these versicles are usually marked off by dots in the text. The number of syllables may vary from one to fifteen or sixteen in each colon. Riemann wishes to fit every versicle into a fixed scheme of two bars of common time. To make this possible, every kind of prolongation or subdivision may be needed. In this process the length-marks in the music are only respected as far as they agree with the preconceived rhythmical pattern. Thus, in his first example,[3] the Diple occurs in-

[1] Cf. his transcriptions *passim*; *e.g.* No. xxx. pp. 38–9, where the effects of Diple and Double Apostrophus are repeatedly ignored.

[2] The same thing may be easily seen if the Hallelujah above quoted be marked off according to Fleischer's rules. The 4-time breaks down completely.

[3] Pp. 40–41.

differently on notes marked as crochets, quavers or semiquavers. On the other hand, a plain note may be anything from a semibreve to a demi-semiquaver. Sometimes Riemann arbitrarily divides a phrase into two *cola* against the MSS. evidence. But often this is impossible and the resulting transcripts may be highly unvocal. I quote a few of Riemann's specimens :—



Still more outrageous are some passages in the florid exercise ascribed to Cucuzeles.[1] These I forbear to quote ; but, if the reader will refer to them for himself, he will hardly be inclined to agree with Riemann's own verdict that 'the great regularity of structure in some at least of these complicated ornaments is well calculated to support our interpretation of the rhythm.'

Such passages cannot be sung without accompaniment in a satisfactory manner. Nearly all hymns transcribed on this plan lose their effective flow of melody and become lame and jerky. Further, the whole notion is pure hypothesis ; a measured ryhthm, whether in four beats or otherwise, is neither implied by anything discoverable in the notation, nor established by the remarks of mediaeval theorists. We have therefore no grounds whatever for expecting or desiring such a rhythm.

[1] *Ibid.* 41–43.

By way of illustration I propose to give a transcription of part of the Canon Διὰ στύλου reproduced in Riemann's book.[1] The MS. (Cryptoferrat., E. II, date 1281) is clear throughout. As the first ode is not included, I have taken my version from the Cambridge MS., Trinity 1165, O, 2, 61 (probably early fifteenth century)[2] and give the Byzantine Notation (Fig. 1, No. 14).

A few minor questions about the interval-signs call for notice:—

(1) The common formula Ison over Petaste (*e.g.* in line 1 of first example below, over second syllable of διὰ) has, of course, the interval-value of zero, because all ascending signs are annulled by the superimposed Ison. This combination is always followed by a descent of the melody. Probably, therefore, the annulled sign was a warning to the singer of this change of direction, but may also have implied a small ornamental group, which could be omitted at the singer's discretion.[3] For this I put a passing shake. Where an Oxeia or Oligon is annulled (a rarer combination) I write a grace-note.

(2) Kentema and Kentemata. The former, being classed as a Pneuma (or leap-sign), absorbs the Oligon, Oxeia, or Petaste placed above or to the left of it. In such cases a single leap of a third is produced.[4] So with the Hypsele joined similarly to any of the same three signs a single leap of a fifth is made. This is confirmed by tradition and seems to follow from the nature of a Pneuma, which theoretically cannot stand alone without a Soma (step-sign) to support it. I therefore emphatically disagree both with Riemann and Fleischer who often make two separate intervals out of such combinations.

On the other hand, the Kentemata never coalesce with any other sign. They can follow an Ison, or descending sign, without being affected. In all such cases a separate progression is necessary, as modern usage also requires.

(3) Oligon above Petaste. Probably, as now, this formula, which is

[1] *Op. cit.* Pl. VIII. and transcription, pp. 48–50.

[2] I have pleasure in thanking the Librarian of Trinity College and also the sub-librarian (Mr. C. Hurry) whose kind help enabled me at a time of considerable difficulty to make a detailed study of the two valuable Byzantine Musical MSS. in the College Library.

[3] *E.g.* in Ode i. l. 1 below, it would be unsuitable. Fleischer and others omit the subordinated signs entirely. My view agrees more or less with Riemann's here. If an ascending sign be annulled by a descending, the procedure would be the same.

[4] Examples in Ode i. ll. 2, 3 below.

usually put on accented syllables, denotes a leap of a third, but with greater emphasis than the Kentema needs.

(4) Apostrophus-Elaphron. When the latter is to the right of the former, the value is a third downwards.[1] Here modern usage agrees with Riemann in making two steps of a second. This, however, seems incorrect, for (*a*) the Elaphron, being a Pneuma, ought not to stand alone over a syllable and, in fact, only does so when a Diple is put underneath.[2] It is unlikely that such a familiar interval as a descending third should have been unavailable for syllables of ordinary length; (*b*) Two superimposed Apostrophi[3] must, by analogy, denote successive descending seconds and cannot therefore supply the place of the Elaphron. I therefore conclude that Elaphron to the right of Apostrophus makes a leap of a third downwards, just as Chamele, similarly placed, makes a leap of a fifth downwards. For a descending fourth an Apostrophus below Elaphron is used.

RULES OF TRANSCRIPTION FROM THE ROUND SYSTEM.

(1) Every plain note is written as a quaver.

(2) Double Apostrophus, Kratema, Diple, and Apoderma make a crochet.

(3) Other indications of stress, whether marked by subsidiaries such as Psephiston, Xeron Klasma, etc., or merely by word-accent, may be shewn by emphasis, if lucidity demands it.

(4) The final note of a piece is always a crochet.

(5) A small separation mark corresponds to the dot dividing phrases in the MSS.

(6) Bar-marks are only meant to help the singer. They do not suggest a measured rhythm, nor do they necessarily correspond to anything in the MSS.

(7) A simple *mordente* represents an annulled Petaste. Annulled Oligon and Oxeia are shewn by grace-notes. Annulled Kouphisma receives a double *mordente*.

The Canon before us is in the first mode, which is usually regarded as having *a* for its central note and *d* for its lower final. A melody may

[1] Cf. Ode i. l. 1 over *καί*.

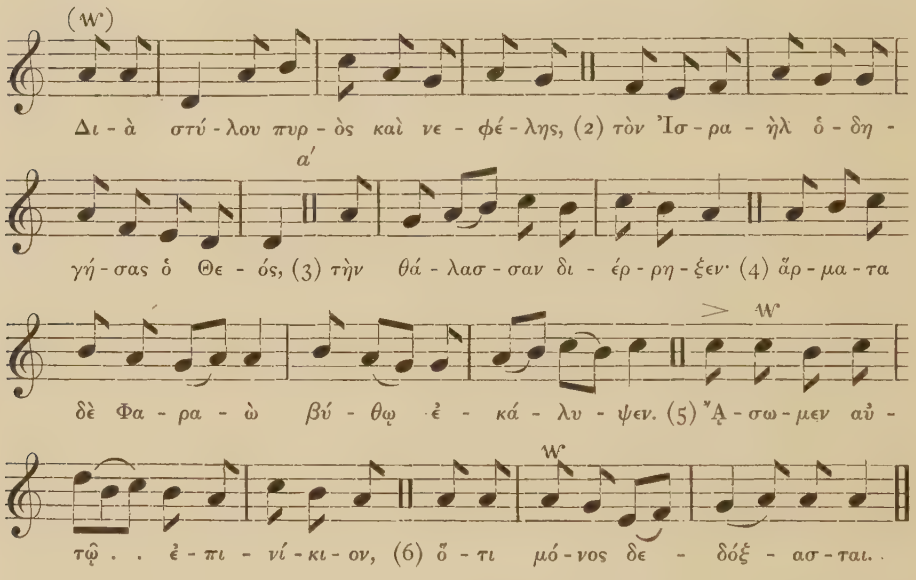
[2] The reason for this exception seems to be that the same pair of symbols (though with different meaning) was familiar in the Old or Linear Notation.

[3] Cf. Ode i. l. 4.

begin and end on either of these. Middle cadences are also made on *f*, *c*, and sometimes *g*. The Ison or holding-note is either *d* or *a*. Some books give the signature of *b*-flat, which properly belongs to the first plagal mode.

Manner of Performance.—The drone or holding-note should be sung *piano* by a second voice or else sustained on an organ. The air should be sung *allegro moderato* in an easy, flowing style. Greek singers often adopt a nasal enunciation, but this must not be overdone. The exact pitch is a matter for the performer's own choice.

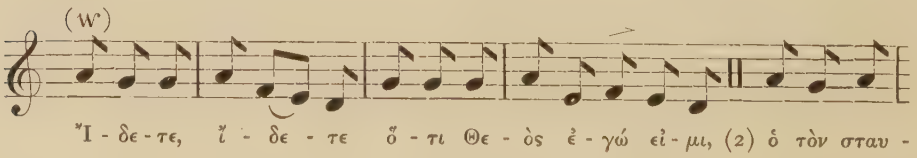
ODE I.

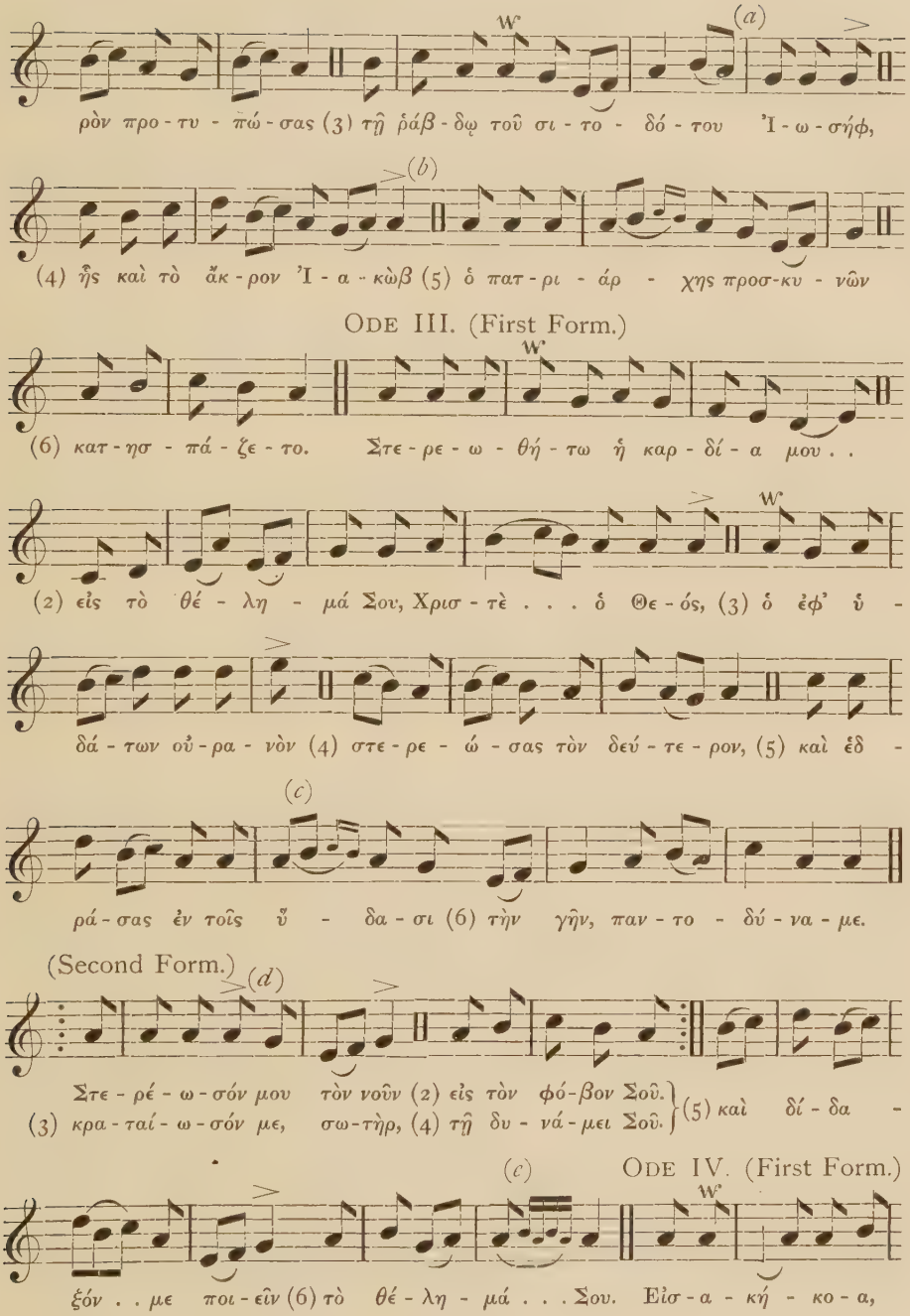


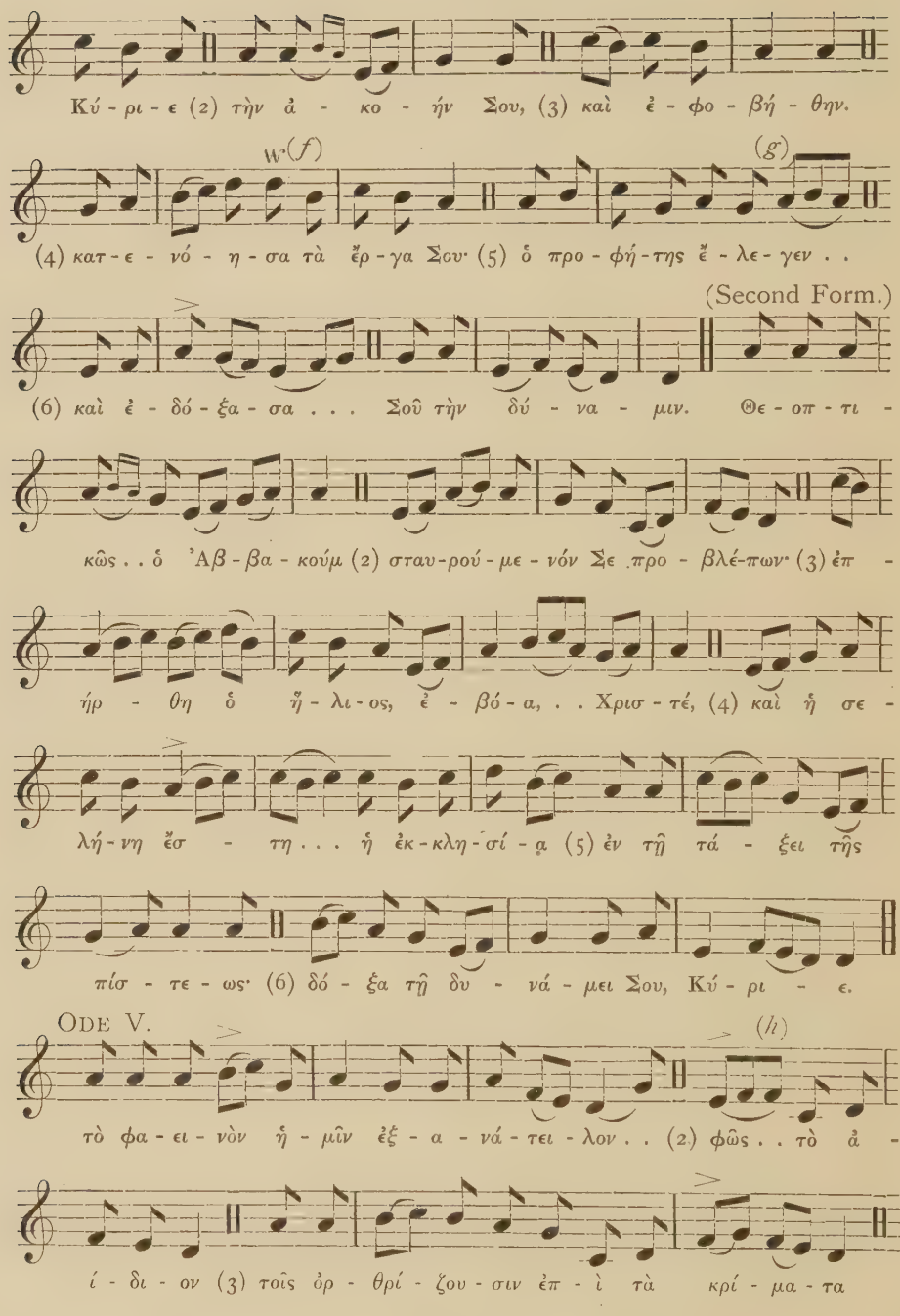
I now give my version of the complete odes contained in Riemann's facsimile.

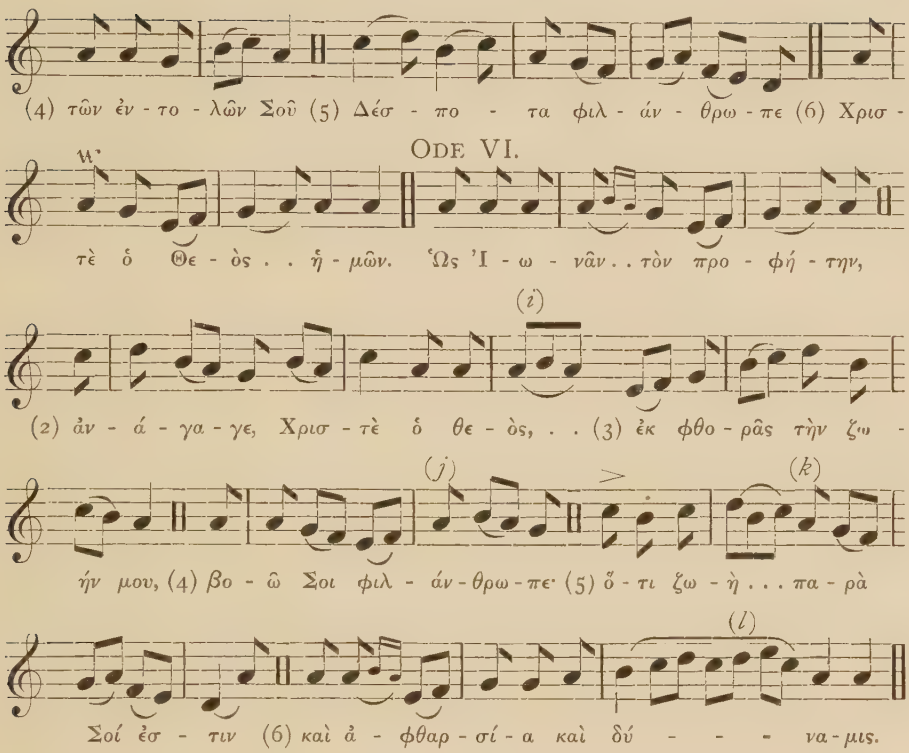
RIEMANN, H., *Byzantinische Notenschrift*, Plate VIII.

MODE I. ODE II.




(a)
ρὸν προ - τυ - πώ - σας (3) τῇ ῥάβ - δῳ τοῦ σι - το - δό - του Ἰ - ω - σήφ,
(b)
(4) ἧς καὶ τὸ ἄκ - ρον Ἰ - α - κὼβ (5) ὁ πατ - ρι - άρ - χης προσ-κυ - νῶν
ODE III. (First Form.)
(6) κατ - ησ - πά - ζε - το. Στε - ρε - ω - θή - τω ἡ καρ - δί - α μου . .
(2) εἰς τὸ θέ - λη - μά Σου, Χρισ - τὲ . . . ὁ Θε - ός, (3) ὁ ἐφ' ὑ -
δά - των οὐ - ρα - νὸν (4) στε - ρε - ώ - σας τὸν δεύ - τε - ρον, (5) καὶ ἑδ -
(c)
ρά - σας ἐν τοῖς ὕ - δα - σι (6) τὴν γῆν, παν - το - δύ - να - με.
(Second Form.)
(d)
Στε - ρέ - ω - σόν μου τὸν νοῦν (2) εἰς τὸν φό - βον Σοῦ.
(3) κρα - ταί - ω - σόν με, σω - τὴρ, (4) τῇ δυ - νά - μει Σοῦ. (5) καὶ δί - δα -
(e)
ODE IV. (First Form.)
ξόν . . με ποι - εῖν (6) τὸ θέ - λη - μά . . . Σου. Εἰσ - α - κή - κο - α,


Κύ - ρι - ε (2) τὴν ἀ - κο - ήν Σου, (3) καὶ ἐ - φο - βή - θην.
(f)
(g)
(4) κατ - ε - νό - η - σα τὰ ἔρ - γα Σου· (5) ὁ προ - φή - της ἔ - λε - γεν . .
(Second Form.)
(6) καὶ ἐ - δό - ξα - σα . . . Σοῦ τὴν δύ - να - μιν. Θε - οπ - τι -
κῶς . . ὁ Ἀβ - βα - κούμ (2) σταυ - ρού - με - νόν Σε προ - βλέ - πων· (3) ἐπ -
ήρ - θη ὁ ἦ - λι - ος, ἐ - βό - α, . . Χρισ - τέ, (4) καὶ ἡ σε -
λή - νη ἔσ - τη . . . ἡ ἐκ - κλη - σί - α (5) ἐν τῇ τά - ξει τῆς
πίσ - τε - ως· (6) δό - ξα τῇ δυ - νά - μει Σου, Κύ - ρι - ε.
ODE V.
(h)
τὸ φα - ει - νὸν ἡ - μῖν ἐξ - α - νά - τει - λον . . (2) φῶς . . τὸ ἀ -
ί - δι - ον (3) τοῖς ὀρ - θρί - ζου - σιν ἐπ - ὶ τὰ κρί - μα - τα



Riemann's transcript has a number of serious mistakes, many of which affect the values of the interval-signs.

(1) He calls the Klasma or Tzakisma an 'Epiphonus' which he imagines to be a small Petaste with the sound of an ascending second. In some cases he assigns no interval-value to it; but in others he arbitrarily allows it such value. (2) The Bareia, though explicitly classed in the *Papadike* as having no interval-value, is treated as a descending second.

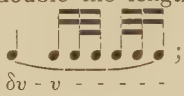
The following points may also be noted :—

ODE II. (*a*) Klasma read by Riemann as Ison (?) (*b*) Apoderma called Double Elaphron. There is no such sign in existence. Here Riemann gives it interval-value ; though elsewhere (p. 38) he wrongly affirms that an Ison can annul a *descending* sign.

ODE III. First Form. (*c*) Oxeia under Ison, given interval-value. Second Form. (*d*) Xeron Klasma, a mute subsidiary, given sound. (*e*) Kouphisma under Ison, given interval-value. The Kouphisma probably denotes some kind of ornament. It *may* have been originally a compound of Oxeia-Apostrophus-Petaste : value, when standing alone—ascending second.

ODE IV. First Form. (*f*) Riemann counts Petaste under Ison. (*g*) Here he gives Xeron Klasma not only sound but value. Second Form. I have already transcribed this ode in *Musical Antiquary*, 1913, p. 211, and pointed out Riemann's errors. The version now given accords with my later view of the rhythm.

ODE V. At (*h*) Riemann takes the Ison for an ascending second (?) The text is not very satisfactory: we should expect such a formula as *e f f e* over φῶς. But as the intervals work out right, I have not made any change.

ODE VI. At (*i*) Riemann takes the Xeron Klasma for an interval-sign. (*j*) he takes Kentema to right of Oligon as making a *fourth* upwards instead of a third; (*k*) here he gives value to Petaste below Elaphron; at (*l*) Kylisma (slur) taken for Petaste by Riemann. The *-v-* of δύναμις is repeated in the MS. but even if, as Fleischer does, we allow double the length of an ordinary note, we should still have an awkward group, 

; while Riemann's is even more difficult.

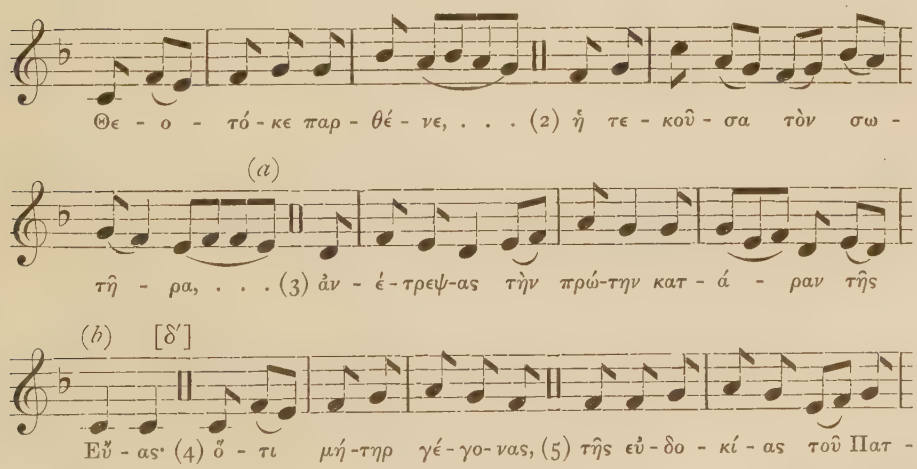
It has already been seen that our aim in transcription is to insert nothing that is not definitely implied in the musical notation. Our method will be the same, whatever the metre of the hymn may happen to be. Byzantine hymnography exhibits many varieties of scansion, from the strictest quantitative verse to free rhythmical prose. The Canon given above does not claim much regularity of structure. Each ode has 6 lines, varying in length from 14 to 5 syllables. In I. the lines may be roughly grouped in pairs. 1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 5 + 6 (βύθῳ in l. 4 *might* be ejected). The concluding bars of Odes II. and III. (1) are very similar; but the melody has been shortened in the latter case in l. 5, while the cadence is lengthened. This shews that imitation was applied without pedantic minuteness in order to suit the sense of the words. Ode III. (2) has greater symmetry, lines of 12 and 5 syllables alternating, while the principal accent is on the second syllable of every line. Ode IV. falls into couplets thus *a*, *a'* : *b*, *b'* : *c*, *c'*, without exact balance. The close of Ode V. resembles Ode I., but such cadences are very common. The fifth line of Ode VI. is not unlike that of Ode I. There is nothing either in the music or verse to suggest a rigid scheme of metre.

The so-called sticherarical hymns allow more ornate passages than the hirmological (to which all Canons belong, including the specimen just quoted), but always preserve a flowing rhythm. *Idiomela*, independent hymns with music of their own, not arranged in odes, are all ranked among the sticherarical compositions. Some examples of these are supplied by one of Gastoué's reproductions.[1] The MS. (Paris, Grec. 261) is here somewhat blurred and difficult to read. Gastoué gives no transcript, but Riemann[2] has a version which we will now examine. I was fortunate in

[1] *Op. cit.* Pl. V. [2] *Op. cit.* 52, 3.

being able to collate the hymns with the excellent Cambridge MS., Trinity, 256, B. 11. 17 (probably early fifteenth century).[1] This shews almost a note-for-note correspondence with the Paris MS. except in a few passages, so that I have no hesitation in using it to clear up doubtful readings in the latter. The text gives us three complete *Idiomela* for Christmas Day.

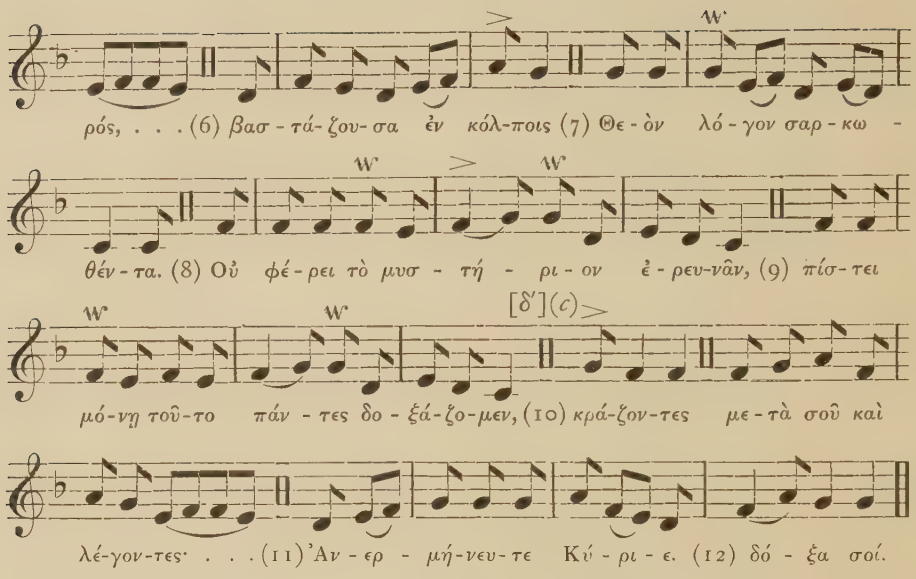
The mode is the fourth authentic, of which the starting and cadential notes are theoretically *g* or *d'*. If extension downwards be needed, a middle cadence can be made on *c*, though this note really belongs to IV. plagal. It is likely that (as at the present day) *g* was the usual starting and final note. The hymns before us have a limited range and might be read from *d'*; but elsewhere this would take the melody out of compass. For instance, the hymns for S. Christina (July 23rd).[2], ὅλβον λιποῦσα πατρικόν, if read from *g*, begins on *c* and has two middle cadences on that note; but it also runs up to *f'*, so that transposition a fifth higher is impossible. In practice the question is not of great moment, as the singer chose the pitch for himself. We are only concerned to note the admissibility of a cadence in the corresponding plagal mode. I print a key signature of one flat. Modern usage sometimes has *b*-flat, but usually not.[3]

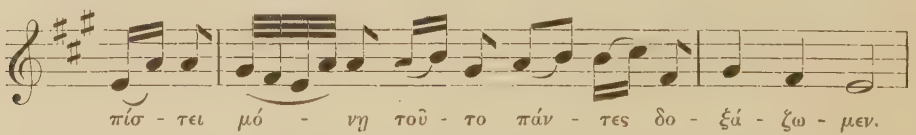


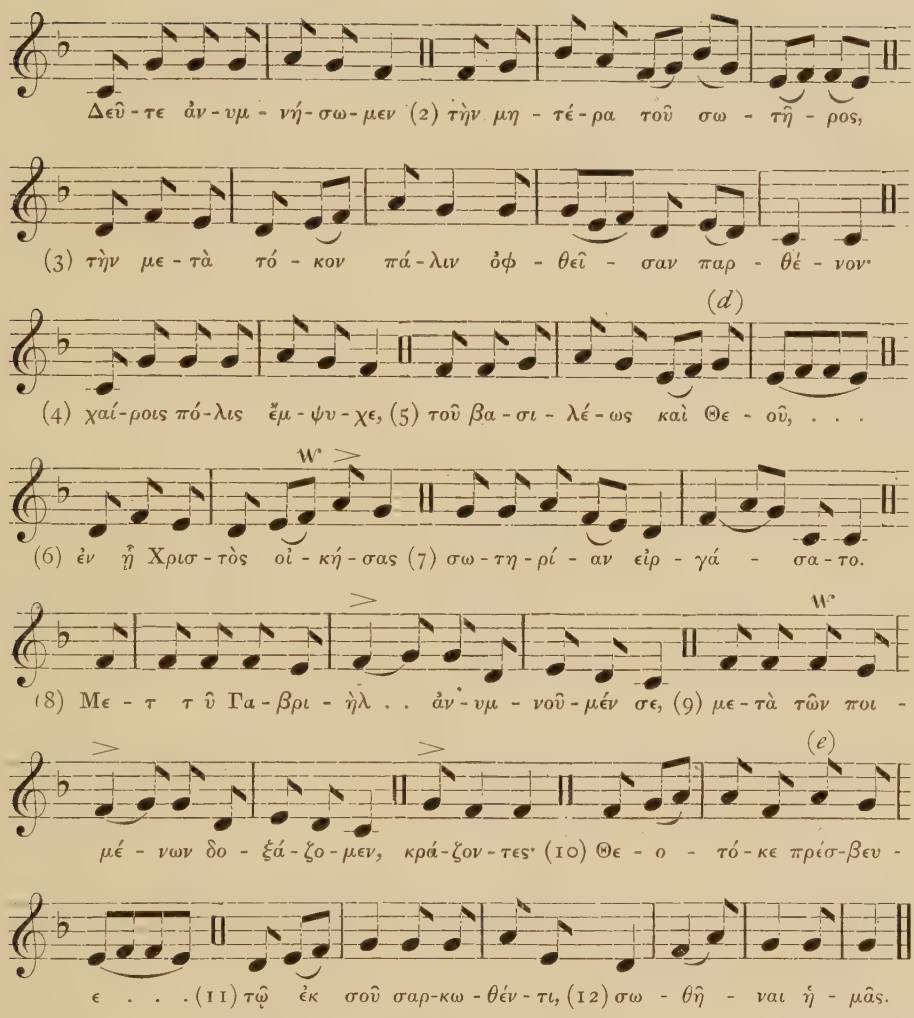
[1] These hymns begin on f. 102 b. The author is given in some MSS. as Andrew of Jerusalem.

[2] *Byz. Zeitsch.* xx. p. 481.

[3] Various forms of this mode are now in use. One called λέγετος begins from *e* (*e.g.* Christ, W. and Paranikas, *Anthologia*, cxxxvii.).



I have followed the printed service-book or Menaeum in numbering the lines. This does not always agree with the division of versicles in the manuscript. But such divergence only shews that, where there was no marked pause in the text, the composer could punctuate his melody as he thought fit. The two Martyriae of Mode IV. are in the Trinity MS. only. Its few melodic variants (and trifling differences in the words) need not detain us. Before line 8 both MSS. have the Martyria of Mode III. and a following Ison in red above the Kentema over Oligon which belongs to *οὗ*. This is only a confirmatory indication that we have reached one of the finals of Mode III. (*f* or *c'*). The Paris MS. has an illegible Martyria in l. 2 and an obscure sign, probably (as Riemann suggests) the *ὅμοιον* or repetition-mark in lines 4 and 9. This is often used and implies some kind of imitation, not always exact. (Lines 4–5 are a free copy of 1–2). In the second case it has prevented Riemann from dividing line 9, and giving him this very unvocal phrase:—

The method advocated by me gives quite as close correspondence without any excessive subdivision of notes. Riemann again takes the Bareia for an interval-sign, while he uses his 'Epiphonus' with or without value just as it suits him. We note further: l. 1 over *-οτ-* (second syllable) Trinity, 256 has quite clearly Bareia, Kentema above Oligon, Klasma, Apostrophus. The Paris MS. is badly smudged here.

At (*a*) Riemann ignores the Apostrophus (descending second), at (*b*) he reads a Double Apostrophus as Ison; at (*c*) Xeron Klasma (mute hypostasis) is read as Ison and Petaste.

At end of line 5 Riemann makes the same mistake as at (*a*) in the last hymn, as also in line 10; at (*d*) he reads a Petaste as Ison. Before the end of line 9 the same mistake as at (*c*). At (*e*) line 10 the MS. has an Oxeia, to the lower right side of which appears a smudge. Riemann takes this for an Apostrophus; but Trinity, 256 (where the words differ, but the notes correspond) shews that a Kentema was written.

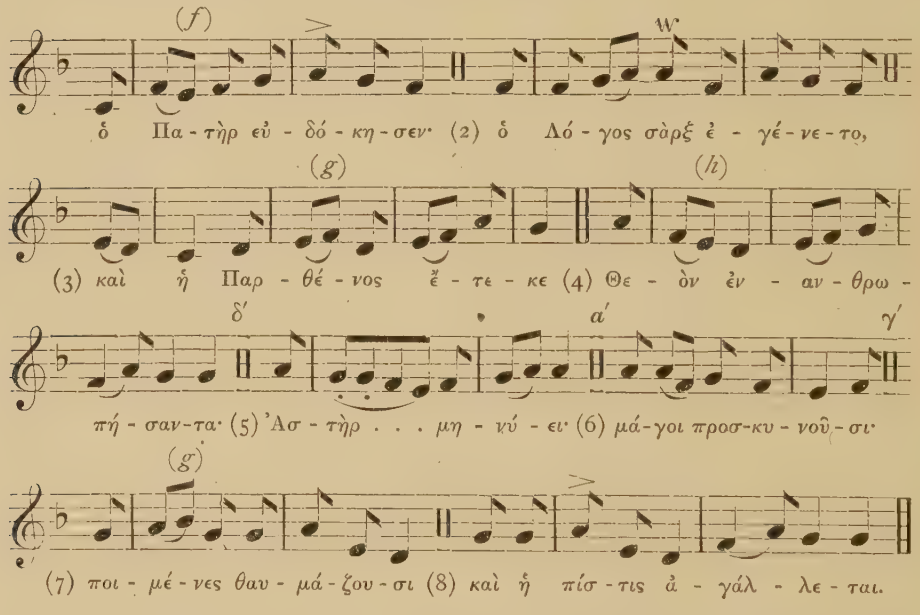
The parallel passages in the melody shew that the structure of the hymn was as follows:—Line 1 = 4 : 2 = 5. 3 = 6 + 7. Line 3 is therefore a double colon, a slight break occurring after *πάλιν*. Lines 8 and 9 (up to

κράζοντες) correspond. The rest of the scheme is free. The first passage has a fairly close syllabic balance and some regard to similar accentuation. Thus—

Line 1 :	7	syllables	$a = 4$
„ 2 :	8	„	$b = 5$
„ 3 :	6	„	$c = 6$
„ 3″ :	6	„	$d = 7$
„ 8 :	11	„	e
„ 9 :	10	„	e'

An obscure Martyria after line 7 is probably of the same import as that in the last hymn before line 10. The supposed *ὅμοιον* recurs before line 9.

It is noteworthy that the cadential formula at the end, line 2, is applied to masculine and feminine endings indifferently.



At (*f*) Riemann has an extra ascending second, due to his taking a flaw in the MS. for Epiphonus. Trinity, 256 is clearly against him. At (*g*) is probably the Parakletike, which perhaps is an expression-mark, certainly not a grace-note as Riemann makes it. The sign recurs in line 7, and there Riemann gives it interval-value. At (*h*) Riemann takes Elaphron above Apostrophus for two notes downwards instead of three.

The Trinity MS. begins with an Ison and has a Hypsele added in at the beginning of line 5. The latter is doubtless meant to explain the Martyria, as it often stands over the Martyriae of the first and fourth modes. The Ison is probably an error, as symmetry obviously demands that all three hymns should begin on the same note; and here, for the reasons already given, I prefer to take *c* as the first. The Martyriae before and after line 6 are probable though not quite clear.

The metrical scheme is simple—

Line	1 : 7	syllables	*a**
,,	2 : 8	,,	*a*
,,	3 : 8	,,	*a*
,,	4 : 8	,,	*a*

trisyllabic ending.

The remaining lines form an ascending scale of 5, 6, 7 and 8 syllables.

In view of the freedom with which the words are handled for musical purposes, it seems unlikely that we shall be able to infer from the notes anything more definite than is already known about the original metres of the hymns, especially as the extant melodies are usually centuries later than their words. But it seems clear that in older settings the text was closely followed, while the taste for florid composition with little regard for the verbal sense was a more recent growth. Transcribed on the system here advocated the specimens of the Round Notation quoted in this article are undeniably dignified, flowing, vocal and readily understood. We may even see a contrast between the dogmatic sternness of the Canon in the first mode and the gentler sentiment of the three Christmas hymns. Such results encourage us to believe (pending the accumulation of more evidence and the arrival of conclusive proof) that Byzantine music in its prime was no barbaric or semi-oriental mystery, but an art whose simplicity and devotional character proclaim it akin to the best Gregorian traditions of the West.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

EDINBURGH.

THE LOKRIAN MAIDENS.

WHEN discussing in *Troy: A Study in Homeric Geography* the tribute of two maidens sent annually as temple-slaves to Athena at her temple in Ilion, I was able only to mention the existence of an inscription referring to the subject (pp. 131, 396). The inscription was then unpublished; I had been unable to obtain by correspondence any particulars other than an assurance that it contained no new material of importance.

The inscription, discovered so long ago as 1896, and copied by Wilhelm in 1897, has at length appeared in the *Jahreshefte des Oest. Arch. Institutes*, xiv, dated 1911, but issued only in 1913. I have to thank Dr. Wilhelm for sending me a copy of his very full account and discussion (*Die Lokrische Mädcheninschrift*, pp. 163–256). I recur to the subject now because it seems to me that, contrary to my information, the inscription does throw a great deal of new light; and because, if I am not mistaken, the real significance of it has been entirely missed both by Dr. Wilhelm and by M. A. Reinach—unhappily lost to science in the battle of the Marne two years ago—who discussed it in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, lxix, 1 (Jan. 1914), pp. 12–54.

The inscription is a long one, and it is not necessary that it should be set out at length here; it will be sufficient to refer to either of the two articles already named. It may be said, however, that it was found in the western Lokris, near the site of Tolophon on the Corinthian Gulf. It contains the remains of twenty-seven lines, with traces of a twenty-eighth. Each seems originally to have had from eighty to ninety letters; but the right-hand side of the stone, with from fifteen to twenty letters or more of each line, has been lost. These lacunae can in some cases be supplied with confidence; in others they leave us in the dark, and add

materially to the difficulties of interpretation. The language is the Lokrian dialect. From an elaborate study of the letters in comparison with dated inscriptions of the neighbouring Delphi, Wilhelm comes to the conclusion that it was cut between 275 and 240 B.C.

The stone records the terms on which the *Αἰάντειοι* and the town of Naryka, of the one part, are to take over the maidens from the people of the Lokrians, of the other—*ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Αἰάντειοι καὶ ἁ πόλις Ναρυκαίων ἀνεδέξαντο τὰς κόρα*[*ς*. The main provisions, so far as they concern the subject immediately before us, are as follows :—

The Aianteioi are given civic rights ; they are to be *ἄσυλοι κ*[*αὶ ἀρύσιοι*, they are not to be excluded from the rights of hospitality and public offices ; their goods are not to be plundered ; they are not to be imprisoned without legal cause, and so on.

The parents of the maidens (plural) are to receive payment for their keep ; each of the two maidens (dual) is to receive fifteen minas for outfit and to be maintained until . . . —*τροφεῖα τοῖς γονεῦσι τᾶν κορᾶν ἑκατέρ*[*οις διδόμεν καὶ τοῖν*] *κόραιν ἑκατέραι πεντεκαίδεκα μνᾶς ἐν κόσμον καὶ τροφὰν παρέχειν ἔντε κα* [. . .

The Aianteioi are allowed to settle anywhere in Lokrian territory, free of taxes. They are to share in public sacrifices, and to give the priest the hides of the victims and [his other perquisites ?]. All the Lokrians are to sacrifice to Lokris Aiantia in Naryka and the Narykaians are to preside at the contests. [The Narykaioi or Aianteioi] are not to be forced to give their sons as hostages for the maidens. They are freed from the compulsion to breed horses [for the State cavalry ?]. There follow legal provisions apparently intended to bring the Narykaioi under the common law of Lokris.

The two former maidens (dual) are to have their legal rights established, so far as may be, before the tribunal—*τοῖν κόραιν ἐπιδικῆσαι τοῖν πρόσθεν κὰτ τὸ δυ*[*νατόν*]. The form of the oath of confirmation is given, beginning in the twenty-fourth line. Of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth about three-quarters are lost, and of the last, the twenty-seventh, there survive only the words *κοραν ταν πεμφθεισαν* without context.

On the narrow side of the stone is a list of names, presumably those of the delegates appointed to carry out the agreement.

In spite of many obscurities the general drift of the agreement is plain enough. The Aianteioi are of course a clan claiming direct descent from

Aias, the son of Oileus ; they live in his native town of Naryka, or Naryx, somewhere in the eastern (Opuntian) Lokris—the exact site has not been determined, but it was probably not far from Abai. Both clan and town, it appears, have been outlaws from the Lokrian community, deprived of the rights not only of citizenship, but even of humanity. They have not been admitted even to such elementary privileges as those of hospitality ; they have been excluded from religious feasts and ceremonies ; their property has been liable to seizure or pillage ; they have not been allowed to settle elsewhere in Lokris ; they have not been ransomed with other prisoners of war ; they have been compelled to give their sons as hostages for the safety of the maidens in Ilion. They have been treated as the most despicable of outcasts and pariahs, excommunicated and banned.

The agreement is designed to remove all these degrading disabilities, and at the same time to make provision for the future of 'the maidens.' The treaty rescinds the outlawry altogether, and brings the clan and town into the Lokrian community. The occasion is to be honoured by the participation of all Lokris in a religious ceremony, with the usual athletic contests, at which Naryka is given the presidency.

Now Wilhelm regards all this as the mere settlement of a temporary quarrel between the Lokrian towns as to who was liable to send the girls. Such a quarrel did take place, as we know, and had been referred to the arbitration of Antigonos (Aelian, *V.H.* fr. 47). According to Wilhelm a settlement was now arrived at, perhaps under the influence of the Aitolian League, by which the Aianteioi and Naryka made themselves responsible for sending the girls in future, and in return the temporary disabilities under which they had been placed were removed.

But surely the treaty means a great deal more than this. There is not a single word in it which imposes the obligation to send the girls in future ; yet this, according to Wilhelm, is the primary obligation to be imposed. The treaty only says that the Aianteioi and Narykaeans 'take over,' *ἀνεδέξαντο*, the girls ; and what this means is expressed later, in the provision for maintenance and outfit.

It seems clear enough that the inscription marks the end of the curse which had lain on the Aianteioi ever since the fall of Troy and the outrage of Aias, son of Oileus, on Kassandra and the goddess Athena. The goddess had had her thousand years of expiation and was now content. The outlawry against the Aianteioi was no matter of an internal civil

dispute, it was a matter of high religious import, controlled by Delphi; and Delphi had now said 'enough.' The family of Aias was at last fit to take its place among the guiltless, and no more maidens need be sent to slavery in Troy. The treaty provides the machinery of the restoration of civil rights; the price which the victims of the curse have to pay for their purgation is that they shall relieve the parents of the maidens who have already served their time, of the cost of keeping them in future, and make special provision for two of them.

When discussing the date of the termination of the curse in *Troy* (p. 132) I came to the conclusion that it took place 'in the first half of the third century,' possibly as late as 264. With this date the inscription exactly agrees. Wilhelm concludes that the date of the treaty is between 275 and 240. A closer coincidence I could not hope for. For me the evidence of the inscription proves conclusively that the rite came to an end at that time.

It is also conclusive on another point. The authorities left us in doubt whether the imprisonment of girls as temple slaves was life-long. Two were sent every year; were they in exchange for the two who had gone there the year before, and who were then sent back? Or were they accumulated at Troy, none ever returning? (See *Troy*, p. 130.) The mention of the maintenance to be paid to the parents of the girls is decisive. Only two were kept in Troy; after a year's service they were sent back to their parents.

This again is the conclusion to which the evidence had led me: 'That two only were in the temple at a time, and were released after a year's servitude by the arrival of the next pair; but that on their return home they were for ever debarred from marriage, and had to be kept by their families till their despised old age.' (*Troy*, p. 131.) The last clause is not admitted by Wilhelm; he thinks that condemnation to perpetual celibacy would be 'too severe.' One would hardly think any thing could be too severe for a rite so cruel in its essence; but we have the positive testimony of Lykophron to assert that it was a fact. He speaks of the enforced celibacy twice: παῖδας ἐστερημένας γάμων (1145) and τὰς ἀνυμφεύτας . . . . γηροβοσκοῦσαι κόρας (1154–5). On a point such as this the testimony of Lykophron must be accepted. If the *Cassandra* was written, as is generally supposed, about 190 B.C., the cessation of the rite had come about less than a century before; it is quite

possible indeed that in 190 there may still have been living some one or two old women who had actually passed in their youth through the ordeal at Troy. The first condition of what is to pass for a prophecy is that it shall not be convicted of falsehood by the personal knowledge of those to whom it is addressed; if it is *ex post facto*, it must be the more rigidly founded on fact. Here then Lykophron must be a good witness.

We see then what the situation must have been when the rite came to an end. There must have been living in Lokris something like a hundred women, all that survived from those who had gone out in past years, women of all ages, forbidden to marry and living only as a useless burden to their parents and families. This burden it would not be reasonable to leave when once the curse was off the country; the Aianteioi, the guilty parties, therefore undertake it in the preamble, and the subsequent clause shows what 'taking over the maidens' means; the Aianteioi are to pay their maintenance to their parents, in return for restitution of rights.

So far all is clear. But then we come to the phrase τοῖν κόραιν twice repeated. How is this to be understood? Wilhelm thinks that the dual is used in a 'distributive' sense, meaning, that is, not 'the pair' but 'the pairs' of maidens, so that it is virtually equivalent to the plural. Such a use is found, it is true, in Homer (*e.g.* ψ 362, τ 444 and elsewhere) and more rarely in Attic poets (*e.g.* Soph. *El.* 711). But that it can be so used here is a very doubtful assumption. It is surprising enough to meet the dual at all in living use at an age when it is commonly said to have disappeared altogether, even from Attic, or at least was used only in archaising poets. Such poetical usage can hardly have affected the strict legal language of a treaty; nor can such a document have been under the influence of the Alexandrian grammarians, with Zenodotos at their head, who were at this very time proclaiming that the dual and plural were identical. The alternation of the two forms must have had a definite significance.

But if one pair of maidens are to be selected for special treatment, it is clear only one thing can be meant; the pair must be the two who are at the moment 'the pair,' because they are at Ilion, undergoing their slavery. Their case is the hardest; they have only just missed exemption, and naturally receive special consideration. They are awarded

15 minas each for outfit, and maintenance until . . . . The lacuna is very unfortunate; another word would have told us a great deal. Wilhelm would restore after ἔντε κα (ἔστ' ἂν), ἐν ἀνδρὸς ἔλθηι. That would not, as we have seen, be possible in the general case; but it may be that an exception had been made in the case of the last pair, and that they had been exempted from the necessity of celibacy. The κόσμος certainly suggests a bridal trousseau; an enforced celibate would have no need for adornment. If this is not so, we may follow Wilhelm's alternative ἔντε κα ζώηι. His third suggestion, ἔντε κα πεμφθῆι, is of course inadmissible.

Much more difficulty is caused by the provision, standing separately and nearly at the end of the whole inscription, τοῖν κόραιν ἐπιδικῆσαι τοῖν πρόσθεν κὰτ τὸ δυ[νατόν. The verb ἐπιδικεῖν is new; no other instance of it in Greek seems to be known. We may however probably take it as equivalent to the familiar ἐπιδικάζεσθαι, which is used with the gen. in the sense 'to claim at law.' It will then mean that some unnamed persons are to use their best endeavours to establish at law the claim of the previous pair of maidens. In the absence of the names of the claimants we must presume that they are the contracting parties themselves; both sides are to do their best to establish the claim.

This implies the existence of some tribunal entirely out of the control of the contracting parties, and whose decisions can only be sued for, not dictated. This is equally true whether the claimants are the contracting parties or private persons. And there is only one place which can have offered such a tribunal—namely Delphi. The oracle alone can have determined that the curse was at an end—Delphi had already on previous occasions insisted on the continuance of it. Probably Delphi had ordained that the two maidens already at Ilion should have special consideration. Possibly there was ambiguity as to the exact date of the termination, and this may have given rise to the hope that the 'previous pair,' those just returned, might fairly claim the same privilege. The treaty provides that this claim shall be pressed. What the tribunal at Delphi was—there surely must have been one—to decide on the legal effect of oracular decisions I do not pretend to say. It may possibly have been the Amphiktyons, who of course sat as δικασταί: but one would expect that it would have been more strictly ecclesiastical. This I must leave to the decision of the experts in Delphica.

A word must be added with regard to the provision that the Narykaioi or Aianteioi—it does not much matter which, as Wilhelm says—are not to be compelled to give their sons as hostages for the maidens —Αἰαντεί- or Ναρυκαί]ους παῖδας ὁμήρους μὴ δόμεν ἀέκοντας ἐν τὰς κόρας. It would appear from this that hostages had been taken in the past. When the maidens made their secret entry into Ilion their lives were risked, and were risked by all the Lokrian nobility for the sake of the curse upon a single house, the Aianteioi. It seems likely enough that they took hostages whose lives were to be forfeited if one of the Lokrian maidens were slain. It is evident that such a provision must now come to an end on any supposition. Even on Wilhelm's hypothesis that the Aianteioi and Narykaioi took over the annual tribute of the maidens, it is clear that they could not possibly be required to give hostages to others for the safety of their own daughters. No conclusion as to the continuance of the rite can therefore be deduced from this condition. It looks as though some of the Hundred Houses had claimed that hostages should still be furnished, not, indeed, for the lives of their daughters, which were no longer to be risked, but for the due fulfilment of the terms of the contract. That claim is definitely refused; and as a consequence the hostages who were still in the hands of the Lokrians for their daughters now at Ilion, are to be set free. The latter condition, though not expressed, is plainly implicit.

Neither here, therefore, nor anywhere else is there a single provision which can be interpreted as implying the continuance of the tribute. The isolated words κοραν ταν πεμφθεισαν in the last line can be interpreted and accented either as accusative singular or gen. plural. The latter is probably meant; but in either case the reference is to some sending in the past, not in the future. The whole tenour of the document proclaims that it is the solemn and final ending of the thousand years' curse.

WALTER LEAF.

THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS AT PETWORTH HOUSE.

(Plate XIV.)

In the spring of 1915 I had the opportunity of examining the long Greek inscription[1] at Petworth House, Sussex, first published in 1883 by U. Köhler (*Ath. Mitt.* viii. pp. 57 f.), from a squeeze and copy supplied by the late Dr. A. S. Murray (Fig. 1), and republished with corrections in *I.G.* ii. 5, 477 *d*. The right side of the inscription is so much worn (Pl. XIV.) that though the letters can be traced in a good light on the stone or on a photograph, they leave no impression on a squeeze; I was therefore able to make some important additions to the published text. They may be summed up as follows:—

(1) The lines are incomplete on the right side.

(2) The stone contains lists of names from six tribes, not four, but a portion of the lines belonging to the third and the sixth tribe has been cut off.

(3) The second tribe is Akamantis and the list under that heading is now complete; the third is Hippothontis.

(4) A few words and letters have been added to the fragmentary Decree at the top of the stone (ll. 1–6).

(5) Köhler's restorations of the text of the second Decree (ll. 7–26) are almost all correct.

[1] Wyndham, *Catalogue*, pp. 137 f. Pl. LXXXV.; Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles*, p. 606; *Ath. Mitt.* (1883) viii. pp. 57 f., (1898) xxiii. p. 420, note 3; *B.C.H.* (1889) xiii. pp. 169 f.; *I.G.* ii. 5, 477 *d*; *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 1897, p. 65; Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Ergastinai.

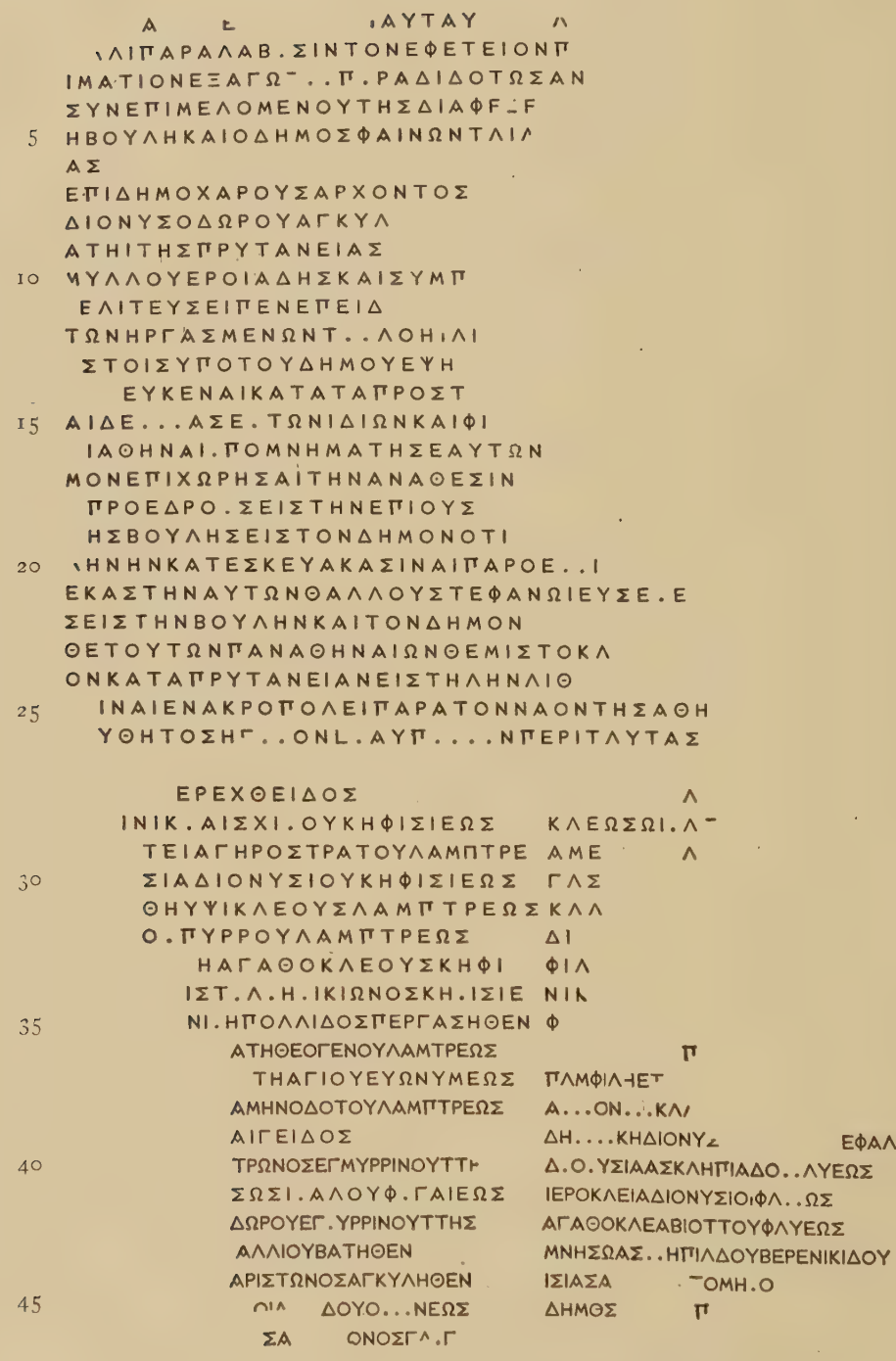


FIG. 1.—UNCIAL TEXT OF THE PETWORTH INSCRIPTION PUBLISHED BY U. KÖHLER. (After *Ath. Mitt.* viii. Text-Plate to face p. 58.)

The transcription printed in the Hon. Margaret Wyndham's *Catalogue*[1] contains most of the necessary corrections incorporated with Köhler's text, but closer study of the squeeze and photograph has resulted in further additions, and by courteous permission of Lord Leconfield I now republish the inscription with a facsimile (Fig. 2), together with my notes on the much-debated Apollonios inscription in his collection.[2]

I am indebted to Miss Wyndham for the kind loan of the negative of Plate XIV., and also for a rubbing of the Apollonios inscription.

I.G. II. v. 477 *d.*

Slab of marble: H. 0·68, W. 0·48; imperfect at top and bottom. A large semicircular piece has been broken out on the left side (Pl. XIV.) but has been refitted; the edge is much chipped. On the right side a piece about 0·15 wide has been cut off the stone; on this side the inscription is much defaced and the surface, from l. 24 down, much weathered. In the centre of the stone is a large round hole (evidently the socket of a post) by which from 6–10 letters in ll. 20–23 are destroyed, and lower down (ll. 36–39) the surface is splintered. The stone is fitted into the pedestal of a statue.

Letters average 7 mm. in height in the text of the Decrees and are usually well cut. The lists of names seem to be by another hand; the letters vary more in size and are more roughly cut (Fig. 2). In several places (*e.g.* ll. 1, 22, 39) they have been incorrectly recut by a much later hand.

The slab contains 47 lines.

Ll. 1–6. The left side of the last six lines of a Decree by the Boule and Demos of Athens. Köhler's conjectural restoration of *πέπλον* in l. 2 is correct, and it may therefore be assumed that the Decree referred to the peplos woven for presentation at the Panathenaia, and mentioned in the Second Decree (l. 12), with rules for its delivery and bestowal (*τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐψηφισμένα* of l. 13). Unfortunately, the additional words and letters obtained throw no fresh light on the subject.

[1] *Catalogue of the Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Possession of Lord Leconfield*, by Margaret Wyndham, pp. 137 f. Pl. LXXXV.

[2] Loewy, *Inschr. Gr. Bildhauer*, No. 517.

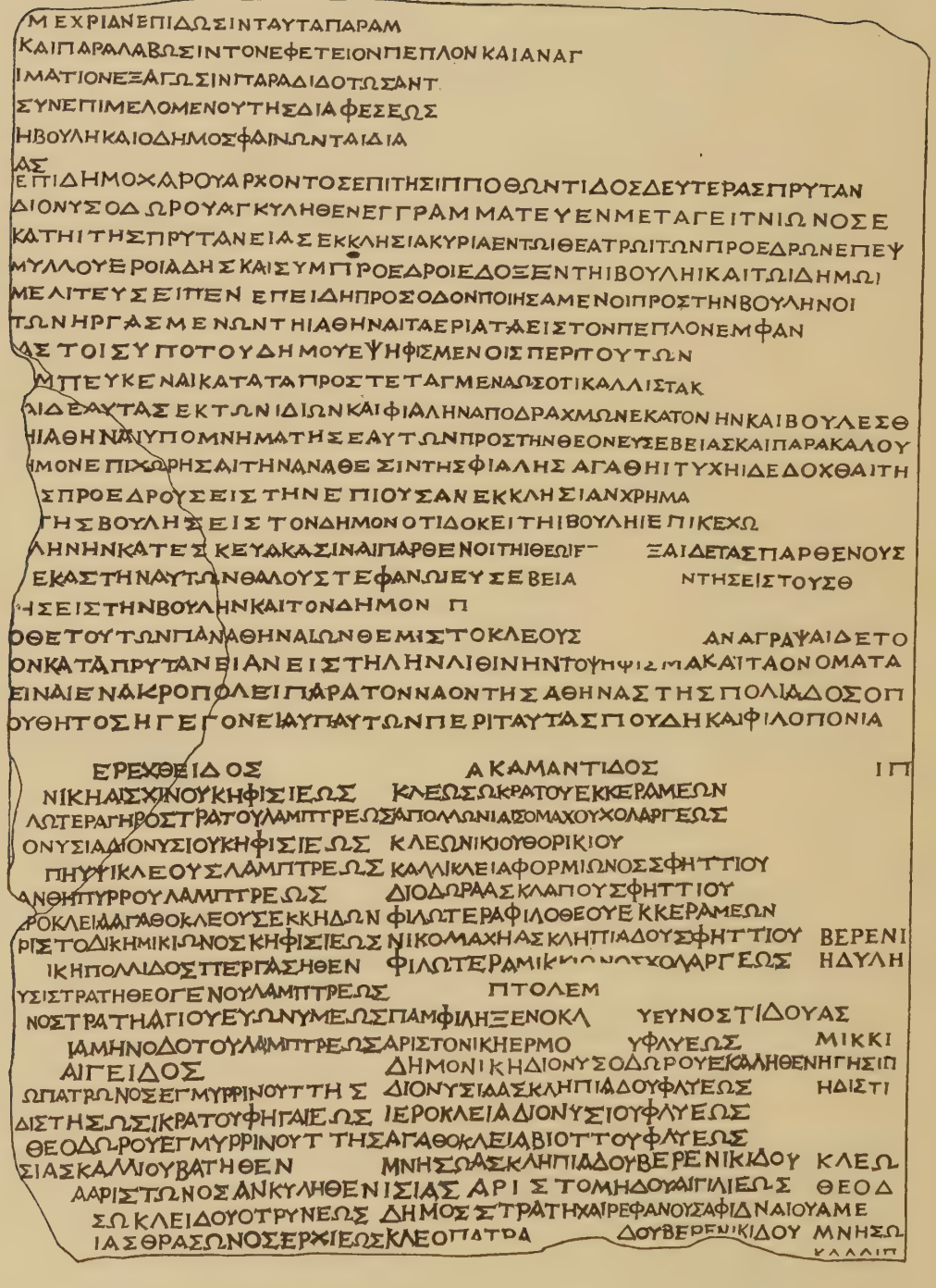


FIG. 2.—FACSIMILE OF THE PETWORTH INSCRIPTION AS NOW PUBLISHED.

First Decree

μεχρὶ ἂν ἐπίδωσιν ταῦτα παραμ - - - -
καὶ παραλάβωσιν τὸν ἐφέτειον πέπλον καὶ ἀνάγ[ωσιν - - - - - - - -
ἱμάτιον ἐξάγωσιν, παραδιδότωσαν τ[ῶι - - - - - -
συνεπιμελομένου τῆς διαφέσεως [- - - - - - ἵνα]
ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνωνται δια - - - - -
ας·

Second Decree

Ἐπὶ Δημοχάρου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος δευτέρας πρυταν[είας ἧι - - - -]
Διονυσοδώρου Ἀγκυλῆθεν ἐγγραμμάτευεν· Μεταγειτνιῶνος ἑ[νδεκάτηι ἐνδε]-
κάτηι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψ[ήφιζεν - - Τι]-
μύλλου Ἐροιάδης καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι· [- - - -]
Μελιτεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ πρόσοδον ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ [πατέρες τῶν παρθένων]
τῶν ἠργασμένων τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τὰ ἔρια τὰ εἰς τὸν πέπλον ἐμφαν[ίζουσιν παρηκολουθηκέναι αὐτ]-
ὰς τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐψηφισμένοις περὶ τούτων [πᾶσι καὶ πεποιηκέναι τὰ δίκαια καὶ πεπ]-
[ο]μπευκέναι κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα ὡς ὅ τι κάλλιστα κ[αὶ εὐσχημονέστατα, κατεσκευακέν]-
αι δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ φιάλην ἀπὸ δραχμῶν ἑκατόν, ἣν καὶ βούλεσθ[αι ἀναθεῖναι]
[τ]ῆι Ἀθηνᾶι ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πρὸς τὴν θεὸν εὐσεβείας, καὶ παρακαλοῦ[σι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν]
[δ]ῆμον ἐπιχωρῆσαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς φιάλης· ἀγαθῆι τύχηι δεδόχθαι τῆ[ι βουλῆι, τοὺς λαχόντ]-
[α]ς προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρημα[τίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλεσθ]-
[αι] τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλῆι, ἐπικεχω[ρῆσθαι μὲν ἀναθεῖναι τὴν φι]-
[ά]λην, ἣν κατεσκευάκασιν αἱ παρθένοι τῆι θεῶι· ἐ[παιν]έσαι δὲ τὰς παρθένους [καὶ στεφανῶσ]-
[αι] ἑκάστην αὐτῶν θαλ(λ)οῦ στεφάνωι εὐσεβεία[ς ἕνεκε]ν τῆς εἰς τοὺς θ[εοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας]
[τ]ῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, [ἐ]π[ιμεληθῆναι δὲ τῶν στεφάνων τοὺς πατέρας μετὰ τοῦ ἀγων]-
οθέτου τῶν Παναθηναίων Θεμιστοκλέους [- - - - - -] ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ[ν γραμματέα τ]-
ὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν εἰς (σ)τήλην λιθίνην τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα [τῶν παρθένων καὶ ἀναθ]-
εῖναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος, ὅπ[ως ἂν ἧι εὐπαρακολ]-
ούθητος ἡ γεγονεῖα ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν περὶ ταῦτα σπουδὴ καὶ φιλοπονία.

Ἐρεχθεῖδος	Ἀκαμαντίδος	Ἱπ[ποθωντίδος]
- - νίκη Αἰσχίνου Κηφισιέως	Κλεὼ Σωκράτου ἐκ Κεραμέων	- - - - - - - - -
Φι]λωτέρα Γηροστράτου Λαμπτρέως	Ἀπολλωνία Ἰσομάχου Χολαργέως	- - - - - - - - -
[Δι]ονυσία Διονυσίου Κηφισιέως	Κλεὼ Νικίου Θορικίου	- - - - - - - - -
- - πη Ὑψικλέους Λαμπτρέως	Καλλίκλεια Φορμίωνος Σφηττίου	- - - - - - - - -
Ἀ]νθη Πύῤῥου Λαμπτρέως	Διοδώρα Ἀσκλάπου Σφηττίου	- - - - - - - - -
Ἱ]ερόκλεια Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐκ Κηδῶν	Φιλωτέρα Φιλοθέου ἐκ Κεραμέων	- - - - - - - - -
[Ἀ]ριστοδίκη Μικίωνος Κηφισιέως	Νικομάχη Ἀσκληπιάδου Σφηττίου	Βερενί[κη
- - - - ικη Πόλλιδος Περγασῆθεν	Φιλωτέρα Μικκ[ίωνος] Χολαργέως	Ἡδύλη
[Λ]υσιστράτη Θεογένου Λαμπτρέως	Πτολεμ[αΐδος]	- - - - - - - - -
[Ξε]νοστράτη Ἀγίου Εὐωνυμέως	Παμφίλη Ξενοκλ[είδο]υ Εὐνοστίδου	Ἀσ - - - - - - -
- - - ια Μηνοδότου Λαμπτρέως	Ἀριστονίκη Ἑρμο[γένο]υ Φλυέως	Μίκκι[ον - - - -
Αἰγεῖδος	Δημονίκη Διονυσοδώρου Ἑκαλῆθεν	Ἡγησίπ[πη - - -
Θε]ὼ Πάτρωνος ἐγ Μυῤῥινούττης	Διονυσία Ἀσκληπιάδου Φλυέως	Ἡδίστ[η - - - -
Ἡ]δίστη Σωσικράτου Φηγαιέως	Ἱερόκλεια Διονυσίου Φλυέως	
- - Θεοδώρου ἐγ Μυῤῥινούττης	Ἀγαθόκλεια Βιόττου Φλυέως	[Πανδιονίδος?
Ἰ]σιὰς Καλλίου Βατῆθεν	Μνησὼ Ἀσκληπιάδου Βερενικίδου	Κλεὼ - - - - - -
- - - Ἀρίστωνος Ἀγκυλῆθεν	Ἰσιὰς Ἀριστομήδου Αἰγιλιέως	Θεοδ(ώρα - - - -
- - - - Σωκλείδου Ὀτρυνέως	Δημοσστράτη Χαιρεφάνους Ἀφιδναίου	Ἀμε[ινόκλεια - -
- - - ιας Θράσωνος Ἐρχιέως	Κλεοπάτρα [- - - - -]δου Βερενικίδου	Μνησὼ - - - - -
- - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - -	Καλλίπ[πη - - -

Ll. 6–26. Text of a Decree in honour of *αἱ παρθένοι αἱ ἠργασμέναι τῆι Ἀθηναῖι τὰ ἔρια τὰ εἰς τὸν πέπλον*. The additions to the text are best seen by comparing Köhler's uncial text published in 1883 (Fig. 1) with the facsimile now published (Fig. 2).[1] Except where an addition of importance has been made to Köhler's transcription or a correction, the gains in each line are not specially noted.

Ll. 27–47. Lists of the names of the above-mentioned maidens belonging to six of the Attic tribes. The first three tribes (l. to r.) are Erechtheis, Akamantis, and Hippothontis, followed by Aegeis, Ptolemaïs and another. Most of Köhler's readings for Erechtheis, Aegeis, and Ptolemaïs are correct (see Figs. 1, 2), but a few additions and corrections have been made (see below, p. 162). The important gains are a complete list under Akamantis (not Leontis as Köhler suggested), the name of the third tribe, Hippothontis, with several names from it and the sixth tribe (Pandionis ?). Of the lists from these two tribes only seven or eight letters in each line are on the stone, which is very much weathered at this point.

First Decree.

L. 1. *μεχρὶ ἂν ἐπίδωσιν ταῦτα παραμ[ένειν ?]* : the first four words are clearly visible on the stone. Köhler's reading is *τ]αῦτα ὑ[πὸ*, but in spite of unintelligent recutting, ΠΑΡΑΜ seems certain.

L. 2. *τὸν ἐφέτειον πέπλον* : *ἐφέτειον* must be an aspirated form[2] of *ἐπέτειον* = 'yearly,' 'annual.' It is therefore clear that at this date (beginning of first century B.C.) a peplos was woven and presented annually at the Panathenaia, not merely at the quadrennial 'Great Panathenaia.' The literary evidence on the subject is conflicting,[3] but it may be noted in confirmation that in l. 25 (Second Decree) Themistokles is described as Agonothetes *τῶν Παναθηναίων*, not *τῶν μεγάλων* Π., and, further, that three of the names catalogued under Akamantis (ll. 28, 30, 31) occur in another list of Ergastinai : given the early age of marriage, it is unlikely that girls who were old enough to take part in the

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Mason for the careful preparation of this facsimile, which is made from a photograph.

[2] For the aspiration cf. *καθ' ἔτος*, Dittenberger, *Syll.*[2] 139, l. 24 ; and Meisterhans-Schwyzer,[3] p. 87, n. 750.

[3] Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Anh. ii. c. Nos. 151–162 gives the most important references.

work at one of the greater festivals would still be unmarried four years later.

L. 3. τ[ῶι]: the dative singular is fairly certain, but the rest of the line is obliterated.

L. 5. *φαίνωνται δια . . .*: there are traces resembling a Φ after Α, in which case we may restore *δια[φυλάττοντες*.

Second Decree.

L. 7. Ἐπὶ Δημοχάρου[1] *ἄρχοντος κ.τ.λ.* Democharis was Archon Ol. 171. 3 = B.C. 94/3.[2] The name of the Tribe during whose second prytany the Decree was passed is now shewn to be Hippothontis.

L. 12. *τὰ ἔρια κ.τ.λ.* is quite visible on the stone.

L. 20. *τῆι θεῶι*: instead of *τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι*, for which there is not room on the stone.

L. 22. *δῆμον· [ἐ]π[ιμεληθῆναι δὲ τῶν στεφάνων τοὺς πατέρας μετὰ τοῦ ἀγων]οθέτου κ.τ.λ.*; at this point the stone is much scratched, and an attempt has been made to recut the letters. The only letter which can be vouched for is Π (one space to the right of *δῆμον*), but I think the original reading was ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘ on the left of the hole and ΣΤΕΦ on the right of it. The phrase *ε. τῆς ποιησέως τῶν στεφάνων* occurs frequently and *ε. τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τοὺς πατέρας τῶν παίδων μετὰ τοῦ δημάρχου* also occurs,[3] but there is hardly room here for *τῶν παρθένων* after *πατέρας*, nor is any closer definition needed, and as the whole difficulty in restoring this line arises from the genitive *ἀγων]οθέτου*, I submit the phrase as a possible restoration of about the right length.

L. 25. *ὅπ[ως ἂν ἦι εὐπαρακολ]ούθητος κ.τ.λ.* Köhler restored *ἵνα τούτων συντελουμένων ἦ ἀκολ]ούθητος*, but remarked that the last word was so far unknown. Wilhelm pointed out[4] that the word should be *εὐπαρακολούθητος*, which occurs in an inscription from Cos.[5] Köhler's restoration is also too long.

[1] Köhler read Δημοχάρους. [2] Kirchner, *Prosographia Attica*, p. 649.
[3] *I.G.* v. 2, 574 *e*, ll. 27, 28. [4] *Arch.-epig. Mitt. aus Oesterreich*, 1897, p. 65.
[5] Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 367, l. 15.

List of Names.

Erechtheis. Several new names have been obtained (ll. 29, 33, 34) and a correction made in the demotic of Agathokles (l. 33).

Akamantis. With the exception of the first name (Κλεὼ Σωκράτου), the whole of this list is new. The list is important, because three of the names, Κλεὼ Σωκράτου ἐκ Κεραμέων, Κλεὼ Νικίου Θορικίου, and Διοδώρα Ἀσκλάπου Σφηττίου, occur in another list (*I.G.* ii. 956), for which we therefore obtain an approximate date.

Hippothontis. The number of names seems disproportionately large. Nothing can be made out in the first six lines of the list, but there is no perceptible break between ll. 28–41.

Aegeis. L. 41 : Ἡ]δίστη Σωσικράτου, not - - - σὼ Σιμάλου. L. 45 : the name is Σωκλείδης. L. 46 : the name is Θράσων Ἐρχιέως, not Γαργηττίου.

Ptolemaïs. Ll. 37–39 : the stone is splintered here, but as the letters are rather deeply cut they are still visible on the stone. L. 38 : Ξενοκλ[είδο]υ Εὐνοστίδου : Köhler's suggestion of Κονδ]υλ[ῆθεν for the deme was wrong. L. 39 : Ἀριστονίκη Ἑρμο[γένο]υ. L. 43 : Wilhelm notes[1] that the tombstone of this Mneso is still in existence (*I.G.* iii. 2, 1625), as well as that of her mother, Mneso, who was a priestess of Athena (*I.G.* iii. 2, 1705). L. 44 : the deme is added. L. 45 : the father's name and deme are added. L. 46 : Κλεοπάτρα - - - - δου βερενικίδου is additional.

Sixth Tribe. L. 42 : traces of Π are to be seen on the extreme right of this line ; if this belongs to the name of the Tribe, it must be Pandionis. L. 47 : it is only at this point that the line appears on the stone.

The list throws no fresh light on the questions, How many maidens were chosen for the work, and on what principle were the numbers selected from each tribe? There are fifty-six names (or spaces for them) on the stone. The only two tribes of which the lists are certainly complete, are Erechtheis and Akamantis, one of which contains eleven names, the other eight. Hippothontis may have fourteen. Ptolemaïs, in the present condition of the stone, has ten names, Aegeis only seven, the sixth tribe only six. Probably these two lists are not complete, and as only six of the twelve tribes are included, there were probably at least as many more names in the full list, *i.e.*, not less than one hundred and twelve.

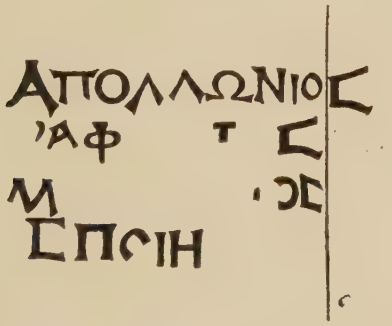
[1] *Ath. Mitt.* 1898, p. 420, note 3.

Nothing is known of the stages by which the stone travelled from the Acropolis to Petworth House. It did not form part of the original collection, as it is not included in Dallaway's Catalogue,[1] and there is negative evidence that it was acquired after 1822. In that year K. O. Müller visited Petworth House; he does not mention the inscription, and says expressly that there were no reliefs in the collection, which now contains two archaic Greek reliefs (Nos. 13 and 72). It seems likely, therefore, that the inscription and the reliefs were all acquired at the same time during the ten or fifteen years after his visit, when owing to increased facilities for foreign travel there was a great revival of interest in art, and notably in Greek art.

LOEWY, *INSCHRIFTEN GRIECHISCHER BILDHAUER*, 517.

The inscription is cut on the support of a statue of a Satyr pouring out wine,[2] and though of no great importance has been much discussed.

I publish a facsimile photographed from a rubbing as, unfortunately, the statue is in such a position that it is impossible to get a successful photograph of the support. It must, however, be premised that the facsimile is somewhat misleading, because, though the letters are from 8–10 mm. high, they are not deeply cut, and have not the appearance of solidity given by the facsimile.



Ἀπολλώνιος
- αφ - - τ - ς
- αλ - - - - - - ιος
ἐποίη[σεν]

[1] *Anecdotes*, pp. 278 ff. Published in 1800.

[2] Wyndham, *Catalogue*, No. 6, p. 9, Pl. VI. The facsimile published in the *Catalogue* shews more traces of letters in ll. 2 and 3, and the three final letters of ἐποίησεν. It was re-drawn from a sketch and a rough rubbing made merely as memoranda to supplement a photograph of the inscription. The present facsimile reproduces only those letters which appear distinctly on a carefully made rubbing.

The literature of the inscription, with a reproduction of a rough sketch published by Michaelis, is given by Loewy.[1] No writer, except Dallaway, admits the existence of four lines.[2] Michaelis and Conze saw only the name; both read the ς in the second line as the final letter of Ἀπολλώνιος, and both agreed that the inscription was an eighteenth-century forgery. But the final ς of Apollonios is cut on the *side* of the support, not on the face,[3] and the inscription certainly contained four lines.

The history of the statue is of some importance in determining the genuineness of the inscription. Dallaway notes[4] that it was found near Rome by Gavin Hamilton; the date would therefore be between 1740 and 1750. At that time the most obvious model for a forger was the well-known Ἀπολλώνιος Νέστορος Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίει signature on the 'Torso of the Belvedere.'[5] The letter forms of the two inscriptions do not, however, correspond (Α, Α : Ε, Ⴑ). A close examination shews that, in addition to the severe rubbing and cleaning which the whole of the antique portion of the statue has undergone, the support itself has been so much abraded as to cause a noticeable depression just at the point covered by the second and third lines of the inscription, as if to render them undecipherable. The letter forms belong to the end of the Republic or beginning of the Empire, when the name Apollonios was very common,[6] and it may be that these two lines were deliberately obliterated in order to establish a connection with the Apollonios best known to the Roman art dealers of the eighteenth century.

For these reasons I am inclined to think that the inscription is genuine, *i.e.* that it dates from the 1st century B.C., and as the letters in ll. 2 and 3 cannot be fitted into any known Apollonios signature,[7] that we

[1] *Inschriften Griech. Bildhauer*, p. 346. To the references there given should be added *I.G.* xiv. 132* (= *C.I.G.* 6138). The important references are: Dallaway, *Anecdotes*, p. 282 and note 3; *Of Statuary*, p. 321; and Michaelis, in *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 17, note 29, with a rough sketch.

[2] Dallaway read the fourth line ἐποίει, probably on the analogy of the Vatican inscription.

[3] The vertical black line in the facsimile represents the edge of the support.

[4] *Anecdotes*, p. 282.

[5] Loewy, *op. cit.* No. 343.

[6] Loewy enumerates nine sculptors of the name.

[7] The letters in l. 2 suggest some such name as ΡΑΦ[εω]Τ[η]Σ. The coins of Raphia of Imperial date shew that the city had a local cult of the child Dionysos, and a statue connected with it. As the father's name invariably precedes the name of the birth-place in these inscriptions, the third word would necessarily be something like ἀγ]ΑΛ[ματοπο]ΙΟΣ.

have here a genuine copyist's signature, rather than, as Loewy suggested,[1] an irresponsible expression of opinion by some previous owner. Phaedrus[2] speaks of people in his time

> 'qui pretium operibus maius inveniunt novis,
> si marmori adscripserunt Praxitelen suo,
> trito Myronem argento, tabulae Zeuxiden.'

but no one would think to increase the value of a statue 'after' Praxiteles by inscribing it with the name of a Greek copyist.

C. A. HUTTON.

[1] *Loc. cit.* [2] Prologue to Book V. of the *Fables*.

TWO SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM SUVLA BAY.

THESE inscriptions were copied by Captain G. A. Auden, R.A.M.C., near the Salt Lake, Suvla Bay, in 1915, and the transcripts handed over by him to Commander D. G. Hogarth, R.N.V.R., with the notes which are printed between inverted commas. Captain Auden writes 'They (the inscriptions) have a good deal of personal interest to me, for the wells, by which they were placed, came in for a good deal of daily shelling, and it was only safe to linger over them in the early morning or after sunset.'

No. 1. 'On a sarcophagus used as a trough near the Salt Lake. The inscription is a good deal weathered.' The inscription is engraved on a panel flanked on either side by a rough volute or vine-tendril.

ΦΛΑΒΙΑ ΠΡΕΙΜΑ ΖΩΣΑ ΕΑΥΤΗ	*Φλαβία Πρεῖμα ζῶσα ἑαυτῇ*
ΚΑΙ ΚΛ·ΜΑΡΚΩ ΑΝΔΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΛ·	*καὶ Κλ. Μάρκῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ Κλ.*
ΜΑΡΚΩ ΥΙΩ ΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ	*Μάρκῳ υἱῷ ἔθηκεν· ἐὰν δέ τις*
ΕΤΕΡΟΣ ΑΝΟΙΞΗ ΤΗΝΣΟΡΟΝ	*ἕτερος ἀνοίξῃ τὴν σορὸν*
ΔΩΣΕΙ ΤΩ ΦΙΣ ΚΩ ✳ΑΦ	*δώσει τῷ φίσκῳ ✳ ,αφ'*

No. 2. 'On a marble slab unearthed near the well at the foot of Lala Baba, on the edge of the Salt Lake. The slab was broken at the bottom. There were mortice holes at each end behind filled with lead, and the slab had a deep square-cut groove running the whole length behind. The inscription is very sharply cut without sign of weathering.' Owing to the fracture only the tops of a few letters are visible in l. 4.

Γ·ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ·ΙΤΑΛΟΣ·ΖΩΝ·ΚΑΙ·ΦΡΟΝΩΝ·ΕΘΗΚΑ·ΕΜΑΥΤΩ·ΤΗΝ·ΣΟΡΟΝ·ΚΑΙ·ΓΥΝΑΙ
ΚΙ·ΜΟΥ·ΚΛ·ΤΙ·ΤΥΛΛΑ·ΟΥΤΕ·ΔΕ·ΤΟΙΣ·ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ·ΟΥΤΕ·ΣΥΝΓΕΝΕΙΣΙ·ΕΙΔΕ·ΤΙΣ·ΚΑΙ·ΕΤΕΡΟΣ
ΤΟΛΜΗΣΕΙ·ΑΠΟΘΕΣΘΑΙ·ΤΟ·ΠΤΩΜΑ·ΔΩΣΕΙ·ΤΗΙΠΟΛΕΙ·ΤΩΝ·ΚΟΙΛΑΝΩΝ·ΧΑΦ·ΚΑΙ·ΤΗ·ΠΟΛΕΙ
ΑΠΟΚΩΝΕΙΣΙ

Γ. Ἰούλιος Ἰταλὸς ζῶν καὶ φρονῶν ἔθηκα ἐμαυτῷ τὴν σορὸν καὶ γυναι|κὶ μου Κλ. Τι. Τύλλᾳ οὔτε δὲ τοῖς τέκνοις οὔτε συνγενείσι· εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἕτερος | τολμήσει ἀποθέσθαι τὸ πτῶμα δώσει τῇ πόλει τῶν Κοιλανῶν Χαφ' καὶ τῇ πόλει|[τῶν Ἀλω]πεκον(ν)ησί[ων - - -

Both inscriptions belong to a class very common in Asia Minor from the end of the first century A.D., in which *τυμβωρυχία* is treated as a civil offence,[1] punishable by a fine,[2] to be paid either to the Roman Government (the *φίσκος*) as in No. 1, or to a city as in No. 2. The amount of the fine varies greatly (from 200–20,000 denarii); the sum here mentioned in both cases, 1,500 denarii, no doubt represents the usual penalty for the district at that period (second century A.D.).

The first inscription calls for no special comment, but the second is of more interest.

In these inscriptions the right of burial is frequently reserved to the deceased's wife and children, to the exclusion of his kinsfolk, but I have been unable to find any other instance of the formal exclusion of the children (l. 2). As Julius Italus prepared the sarcophagus during his own life time (l. 1) he obviously wished to draw attention to the fact that he was not on friendly terms with his children and relations.

L. 3 Κοῖλα (Κοιλὸς λίμην) was a port on the eastern coast of the Thracian Chersonese,[3] between Sestos and Madytos; Mela places it near Kynossema and says that a naval battle took place in the portus Coelos (B.C. 411).[4] By modern geographers it is variously identified with Kilia and Kilidj-Bahr. From the time of Hadrian down to the reign of Gallienus, it was a flourishing *municipium*.[5]

[1] For the steps by which it became a crime against the state instead of a sin against the gods, see Arkwright in *J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 264.

[2] Hirschfeld, *Die griechischen Grabinschriften welche Geldstrafen anordnen*, Königsberger hist.-phil. Studien i. (1887), pp. 85–114.

[3] Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 50, 75; P. Mela, ii. 2, 7.

[4] Mela, *loc. cit.* 'est portus Caelos Atheniensibus et Lacedaemoniis navali acie decernentibus Laconicae classis signatus excidio.'

[5] Head, *Hist. Num.*[2] p. 259.

L. 4. As only the tops of the letters are visible it is possible that the first, third and seventh letters should be Ω, Ε and Ͼ, ΩΠΕΚΟΝΗϾΙ = [τῶν Ἀλ]ωπεκον(ν)ησι[ων . . . Alopekonnesos was situated on the western coast of the peninsula rather higher up than Suvla Bay, where several of its coins were picked up during the British occupation. If the suggested restoration is correct it may reasonably be assumed that Suvla Bay is in the territory of Alopekonnesos, and that Julius Italus owned property there and in Koila, as both cities are intrusted with the protection of his sarcophagus.

C. A. HUTTON.

SOME LYDIAN PROPITIATORY INSCRIPTIONS.

(Plate XV.)

Of the six following inscriptions the first is new, the other five are already known. These five are here republished because they all have some features in common with the first and appear to be worthy of fresh study.

I.

Small stele of grey marble belonging to Athanasios Dürekoglu; photographed and copied by me at Kula in June 1914. Height 66 cm.; width at top 32 cm., at bottom 42 cm.; thickness 6 cm. A clean break runs across the middle. Above the following text, which is perfectly preserved, is a sunken panel, on which are represented a pair of eyes and below these a pair of pigeons in low relief. (Plate XV, 1.)

ΔΙΕΙΣΑΒΑΖΙΩΚΑΙΜΗ·Ι
ΤΡΕΙΕΙΠΤΑ·ΔΙΟΚΛΗΙΣ
ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΥΕΠΕΙΕΠΕΙ
ΑΣΑΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑΣΤΩΝ
ΘΕΩΝΕΚΟΛΑΣΘΗΝΙΣ
ΤΟΥΣΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥΣΚΑΙ
ΕΝΕΓΡΑΨΑΤΗΝΑΡΕΤΗΝ

Διεὶ Σαβαζίω καὶ Μη-
τρεὶ Εἴπτα Διοκλῆς
Τροφίμου· ἐπεὶ ἐπεί-
ασα περιστερὰς τῶν
θεῶν ἐκολάσθην ἰς
τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ
ἐνέγραψα τὴν ἀρετήν.

This is one of those propitiatory monuments, found almost exclusively in Maeonia and S.W. Phrygia, which were dedicated by penitents at various sanctuaries to commemorate specific sins and the penalties inflicted by the gods.

The historical significance of these humble confessional records, which date from the two centuries during which Christianity was taking root in Asia Minor, has been pointed out by Ramsay, Hogarth, Chapot, Zingerle

and others. To the references on this subject collected by Keil-v. Premerstein (*Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* liv, 1908, 2, p. 16)[1] may be added: W. M. Ramsay, *Expository Times*, x, 1898–9, pp. 10–13, and F. Steinleitner, *Die Beicht im Zusammenhange mit der sakralen Rechtspflege*, 1913, pp. 83 f. This last volume contains a convenient reprint of all the texts, which will here be cited as 'Steinl. 1,' etc.

These records were drawn up, as Ramsay points out, in 'technical religious language.' We must now from this new text add to their vocabulary the term *ἀρετή* (synonymous with *δύναμις* in the sense of 'act of divine power' or 'mighty work'), which had not before been found in Maeonia,[2] and only twice in Asia Minor, namely in Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique*, 519 and 1764b. When the latter of these inscriptions is discussed below (No. 5), illustrations will be given of this rare use of *ἀρετή*.

The closest parallel to our stele is that from Sandal (now at Kula, K.P. II, p. 100) on which, below a relief representing a man and three trees, Stratoneikos commemorates his punishment for having in ignorance cut trees growing in the grove sacred to Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaitis (*Μουσεῖον*, 1878–80, p. 164 n. *τλβ'* = Steinl. 14; Chapot, *La Prov. rom. d'Asie*, p. 509). Just as that grove was consecrated to those two divinities jointly, so the sacred precinct in which our pigeons lived was dedicated to the divine pair Zeus Sabazios and Mother Hipta.

The cult of this latter goddess, nurse of the infant Dionysos, is known only from epigraphic evidence and only in this district. The other inscriptions in which her name occurs are:

(1) from Giölde: *Μητρὶ Ἴπτα καὶ Διεὶ Σα[βαζίω]*, *Μουσεῖον*, 1878–80, p. 169, n. *τμβ'* = K.P. II, 188;

(2) from Menye: *Μητρὶ Ἴπτα*, K.P. II, 169.

Our stele is thus the third piece of testimony showing that her name is Hipta, not Hippa as it has usually been spelt in the Orphic Hymns (48, 4 and 49, 1). See Kern's article in Pauly-Wiss. *R.-E.* viii, 1930 (1913); K.P. II, p. 96; Roscher, *Lex. s.v. Hippe.*

[1] The inscriptions copied in the three journeys made by these scholars will here be cited as K.P. I, K.P. II, or K.P. III, followed by the number of the text. All are published in the same *Denkschriften*, 1908–1914.

[2] O. Crusius in *SBer. Bayer. Akad., phil-hist. Kl.* 1910, 4, p. 114, note 2, draws attention to the fact that these inscriptions mention the *δυνάμεις*, not the *ἀρεταί*, of the gods. This observation is no longer true.

Our inscription would appear to date from the latter half of the second century A.D., whereas the Orphic Hymns, according to the internal evidence worked out by Hauck (*Bresl. Philol. Abh.* 43, 1911, p. 47) were probably not composed before the end of the fifth century. It is worthy of note that they connect Hipta both with Sabazios and with Lydia. The forty-eighth Hymn inscribed to Sabazios begins thus: Κλῦθι πάτερ, Κρόνου υἱὲ, Σαβάζιε . . . . | ὅς Βάκχον Διόνυσον . . . | μηρῷ ἐγκατεράψας ὅπως τετελεσμένος ἔλθοι | Τμῶλον ἐς ἠγάθεον παρὰ θ' Ἵπταν καλλιπάρῃον; and the forty-ninth, which bears Hipta's name, thus: Ἵπταν κικλήσκω, Βάκχου τρόφον, εὐάδα κούρην.

Not very far from Maeonia has been found another 'Orphic' cult, that of Μίση, to whom the forty-second Orphic Hymn is dedicated. At Samurlü in Aeolis is an offering by her priestess to Μίση κόρη (*Ath. Mitt.* vi, 1881, p. 138; *Philol.* lii, 1894, p. 577) and a basis inscribed to Μίση was in the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon: *Ath. Mitt.* xxxv, 1910, p. 444, n. 26.

The pigeons taken by Diokles should probably not be regarded as sacrificial offerings like the lustral pigeon in *Syll.*[2] 556 (= *Syll.*[3] 375), or the two young pigeons in Luke, ii. 24. They are more likely to have been regular inmates of the sacred grove, like the pigeons at Delos whose guano was sold and entered as an item in the temple revenues (*I.G.* xi, 2, 161, l. 43 = Michel, 594: τῶμ περιστερῶν τῆς κόπρου). A grove was an ordinary feature of sacred precincts in Maeonia[1] and it is but natural that pigeons should have been kept there. Homolle, *B.C.H.* xiv, 1890, pp. 456–8, mentions various sacred birds and beasts maintained in such sanctuaries. The sin of Diokles was that he had appropriated livestock belonging to the gods. And that the theft was deliberate may be inferred from his silence, for penitents who had transgressed unintentionally were as a rule careful to mention that fact, *e.g.* κατὰ ἄγνοιαν, Steinl. 14; ἀκουσίως, *ib.* 16; βιαθῖσα, *ib.* 22; λημονῆσα, *ib.* 24. From the absence of thanksgiving we may also infer that the ailment in his eyes had not yet disappeared, and that his object in setting up the stele was to induce the gods to cure him. In inscriptions of this type the part of the sinner's body smitten by divine chastisement is sometimes mentioned in the text, sometimes merely represented in effigy. In the following cases it is described but not depicted:

[1] Cf. ἐκ τοῦ ἄλσου(ς) ἔκοψα δένδρα θεῶν; Μουσεῖον, 1878–80, p. 164; Σάλβιος . . . ἀνέθηκεν Μητρὶ Ἀναΐτιδι τὴν περιοικοδομὴν πᾶσαν καὶ τὸ ἄλσος; *Ath. Mitt.* xiv, 1889, p. 106, n. 56.

(1) Breasts: *ἐκολάσθη . . . ἰς τοὺς μαστούς*, *B.C.H.* viii, 1884, p. 378 = Steinl. 12.

(2) Thigh: see below, No. 2.

In the following it is depicted but not described:

(1) Two breasts, a leg, two eyes: *Μουσεῖον*, 1884–5, p. 54, n. *υλγ'* = Steinl. 4.

(2) Arm: K.P. II, 197 = Steinl. 16.

This stele of Diokles is the only one known to me on which the suffering part is both depicted and expressly mentioned.

2.

(= *J.H.S.* iv, 1883, p. 385, n. 7.)

The foregoing inscription suggests an intelligible reading of the undeciphered sixth line in this thank-offering to Leto published by Ramsay. See corrections by Hogarth, *J.H.S.* viii, 1887, p. 390, note 1, and the reprints in Ramsay, *C.B.* i, pp. 153–4, n. 53 (1895), and in Steinl. 31 (1913).

According to the reading now proposed the text will stand as follows:—

ν' ἔτος· (?)
Ἀφιὰς Θεοδότου
εὐχαριστῶ Μητρὶ
Λητῶ ὅτι ἐξ ἀδυνά-
των δύνατα πυεῖ,
κὲ κολαθῖσα ἰς τὸ<ν> γλουθ(ί)ο-
ν Μητρὶ Λητῶ εὐχήν.

The first word, NETOC, is taken by Steinleitner as the name of the dedicator, son of Aphia (*Ἀφίας*), the daughter of Theodotos. But since *κολαθῖσα* is plainly to be read in l. 6 (Hogarth: *κολαθίς*), we must regard the penitent as *Ἀφιάς*, this female name being very common in Western Asia Minor. The first line might then, as in many texts of this type, contain a date, of which the correct form would be *ἔτους ν'*; but since inscriptions of this class abound in dialect and illiterate forms, it is possible that we should read *ν' ἔτος*, according to the original copy.

The sixth line as copied by Ramsay stands thus :—

ΚΕΚΟΛΛΟΙΓΑΙΙΤΟΝΓΛΟΥΟΡΟ
(ΑΘ)(Ε) (Ε) (ΘΙ)

The letters in brackets are those which must be substituted in order to produce the reading suggested above. The last of these emendations, whereby *τὸν γλουθρὸν* becomes *τὸ<ν> γλουθ(ί)ον*, may not be necessary, since *γλουθρός* may well have been the local dialect form for *γλουτός*. But as *iota* may easily be mistaken for *rho*, if an accidental scratch next to it happens to resemble a small loop, it seems preferable to read *γλουθίον* as the local spelling of *γλουτίον*, which, though not in any lexicon, is regularly formed from *γλουτός*, like *στηθίον* from *στῆθος*, *πλινθίον* from *πλίνθος*, etc. This reading of the sixth line, if correct, adds point to the preceding lines. If Aphias was crippled by pain in the thigh, perhaps sciatica, it was most fitting that after her cure she should thank the goddess 'because from things without strength she maketh things that are strong.'

3.

(= *Rev. Et. Gr.* xiv, 1901, p. 301, n. 4.)

This fragment from Kula is another of the confessional inscriptions from that district. The first editor, Kontoleon, wrongly regarded it as a decree, and its true character appears since then to have escaped notice. His copy is as follows :—

. . . . πιθιαστ . . .
. . . 'Ασκλη]πιάδου κατα . . .
. . . . . ις θεοῦ (?) εἶπεν . . .
. . . πάρθενον καὶ ναυ . . .
. . ου καὶ ἐλοιδόρη[σαν ? . .
. . . ἐ]ν τῶ ναῶ ποστα . . .
. . . τηλλην σταν θ . . .
. . . ν ὑπὸ Βάσσης . . .
. . . τος καὶ συνεβου[λευ . . .
. . . ατων κατα . . .
ἐν 'Αθ]ηναις (?) τι χορ . . .
. . . . . ακον

The editor gives no information as to the size of the stone, nor as to the number of lines probably missing at top or bottom; but it seems evident that at the bottom a good deal is lost. As to the sides no indication is given except by dots which appear to indicate the number of missing letters. A few tentative restorations based upon the theory that each line consisted of 22–23 letters will here be suggested. Even if the lines should prove to have been longer, these restorations may help to bring out the subject matter of the text. The reading proposed is as follows:—

ἀ]πιθίας τ . . . [ὁ δεῖνα
. . . Ἀσκλη]πιάδου κατὰ [δυνά-
μεων τῶν τῆ]ς θεοῦ εἶπεν [πρὸς
τὴν] πάρθενον καὶ ναυ[κόρον
τῆς θε]οῦ καὶ ἐλοιδόρη[σεν αὐ-
τὴν ἐ]ν τῶ ναῶ· π(ρ)οστα[ξάσης αὐ-
τῆς σ]τήλλην στανθ[ῆναι . . .
. . . ν ὑπὸ Βάσσης . . . . . .
. . . τος καὶ συνεβού[λευσεν
μετ]ὰ τῶν κατα . . . . . .
τεθ]ῆναι (ἴ)ς τι χόρ[ιον
. . . . . ακον

The fact that this inscription should be classified as propitiatory can best be shown by a list of the words and phrases occurring in other texts of this class.

Line 1. ἀ]πιθίας: cf. ἀπιθοῦντος, K.P. II, 208, line 11 = Steinl. 3; εἴ τις δὲ τούτων ἀπειθήσι, *C.I.G.* 3439 = L.B.W. 668.

„ 2, 3. κατὰ . . . εἶπεν: cf. εἰ δ'ε[ἶπέ] τις κατ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς Ἀσκληπι(ά)δα, *S.G.D.I.* 3536 = Steinl. 34.

„ 4. ναυ[κόρον: The usual form of νεωκόρον in this locality; Μουσεῖον, 1886, p. 76, n. φξδ' = Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 58, n. 34.

„ 5. ἐλοιδόρη[σεν: cf. ἐλοιδόρησαν, *C.I.G.* 3442 = Steinl. 10.

„ 6. ἐ]ν τῶ ναῶ: cf. ἀρὰς ἔθηκεν ἐν τῶ ναῶ; inscription cited from Smyrna, Ἁρμονία (May 31, 1900), by Zingerle, *Jahreshefte*, viii, 1905, p. 144.

Line 7. *σ]τήλλην στανθ[ῆναι*: The erection of a commemorative stele as a duty required of the penitent: Steinl. 4, 5, 8, 9, 11. I can produce no parallel to *στανθῆναι* for *σταθῆναι*, but such nasalized spelling as Ἡρώνδης for Ἡρώδης suggests that *στανθῆναι* was a possible provincialism.

„ 9. *συνεβού[λευσεν*: cf. *ἐπιβουλευσάντων*, *[ἐπι]βουλεύσαντας*, *Ath. Mitt.* vi, 1881, p. 273, n. 23 = Steinl. 9; also the regulations of a Lydian sanctuary in K.P. III, 18, where *συνβουλεύειν* is an act specifically disapproved (lines 21, 28).

The offence committed by the son (or daughter) of Asklepiades seems to have been some form of sacrilege connected with disobedience. Having spoken insultingly of the goddess in presence of her priestess, the offender was apparently ordered to erect a penitential stele, but evaded this duty by means of a conspiracy.

4.

(= *Μουσεῖον*, 1886, pp. 84–5, n. *φοζ'*.)

This inscription, published thirty years ago by Fontrier without an epigraphic copy, does not seem to have been revised by K.P. when they visited Giölde in 1908, for they mention it without stating that they had seen it (K.P. II, p. 107). Ramsay (*J.H.S.* x, 1889, p. 227, note 2) has seen the text, but his quotation is not accurate. It has been reprinted by Smirnov (*Στέφανος for Th. Sokolov*, 1895, pp. 97–8, n. 32), by Drexler. (Roscher, *Lex.* ii, 2703–4, n. 18) and by Steinleitner (n. 6), but with several errors. In view of its great interest it seems worth re-editing from a copy and squeeze taken at Giölde in June, 1914. I also reproduce a photograph of its handsome old owner, Kurtoglu Hadji Seraphion, proudly holding it. (Plate XV, 2.) He said that he had brought it from Aivadlar about forty years ago.

Marble stele: height, 78 cm.; width, 38–40 cm.; thickness, 4 cm. Moulding projecting at the top, below which the first two lines of the inscription are, except for a few traces, completely erased. The next four lines are only partly preserved, but from line 5 onwards the preservation is excellent. In view of its provincial origin, the lettering is remarkably well cut.

(MOULDING)

(TWO LINES ERASED)

ϹΝΚΑΙΙ·ΙΔΥ
ΑΙΙΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ
ΤΟ·ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ϽΥ·Ж̄Μ̄·ΕΙΤΑΑΠΑ
ΤΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΝΧΑΛ
ΚΟΝΠΑΡΑΤΟΥΣΚΟΛΛΟΥΩΜΟΣΕΤΟΥΣ
ΠΡΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΕΝΟΥΣΘΕΟΥΣΙΣΠΡΟ
ΘΕΣΜΙΑΝΑΠΟΔΟΥΝΑΙΤΟΣΥΝΑ
ΧΘΕΝΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝΜΙ·ΙΤΙ·ΙΡΙ·ΙΣΑΝΤΟΣ
ΑΥΤΟΥΤΙ·ΙΝΠΙΣΤΙΝΠΑΡΕΧΩΡΙ·ΙΣΕΝ
ΤΙ·ΙΘΕΩΟΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΚΟΛΛΣΘΕΝ
ΤΟΣΟΥΝΤΟΥΣΚΟΛΛΟΥΥΠΟΤΩΝΘΓ
ΩΝΙΣΘΑΝΑΤΟΥΛΟΓΟΝΜΕΤΑΤΙ·ΙΝ
ΛΕΥΤΙ·ΙΝΑΥΤΟΥΕΠΕΖΙ·ΙΤΙ·ΙΘΙ·ΙΥΠΟΤ
ΘΕΩΝΤΑΤΙΑΣΟΥΝΙ·ΙΘΥΓΑΤΙ·ΙΡΑΥΤΟΥ
ΕΛΟΙΣΕΤΟΥΣΟΡΚΟΥΣΚΑΙΝΥΝΕΙΛΑ
ΣΑΜΕΝΙ·ΙΕΥΛΟΓΕΙΜΙ·ΙΤΡΙΑΤῙΜΙΤΙ
ΚΑΙΜΙ·ΙΝΙΤΙΑΜ̄ΟΥ·ΕΤΟῩΣ·Σ̄Τ̄·Μ̄Μ̄
ΞΑΝΝΔΙΚΟΥ·Ε̄Ῑ

[Μεγάλη Μήτηρ Ατιμις]
[καὶ μέγας Μὴν Τιάμου τὴν . . . .]
[. . . κώμην βασιλεύ]ων καὶ ἡ δύ-
[ναμις αὐτῶν μεγάλη.] Ἀ[π]ολλώνιος
[Σκόλλω παρέθε]το Ἀπολλωνί-
ω [ὑπάρχοντα χαλκ]οῦ (δηνάρια) μ(ύρια)· εἶτα ἀπα(ι)-
5 τοῦντος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸν χαλ-
κὸν παρὰ τοῦ Σκόλλου ὤμοσε τοὺς
προγεγραμένους θεοὺς ἰς προ-
θεσμίαν ἀποδοῦναι τὸ συνα-
χθὲν κεφάλαιον· μὴ τηρησαντος
10 αὐτοῦ τὴν πίστιν παρεχώρησεν
τῇ θεῷ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος· κολ(α)σθέν-
τος οὖν τοῦ Σκόλλου ὑπὸ τῶν θε-
ῶν ἰς θανάτου λόγον, μετὰ τὴν [τε-
λευτὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπεζητήθη ὑπὸ τ[ῶν
15 θεῶν· Τατιὰς οὖν ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ
ἔλοισε τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ νῦν εἰλα-
σαμένη εὐλογεῖ Μητρὶ Ἀτίμιτι
καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου. ἔτους σγ′, μη(νὸς)
Ξανυδικου ει′.

The following letters not shown in Fontrier's copy are clear in my copy and squeeze: l. 1, Ω; l. 2, ΑΙΙ; l. 3, ΤΟ; l. 4, Ω.

The restoration of the first four lines—which mentioned the two gods, cf. l. 7—is based on the following:

Με]γάλη Μήτ[ηρ Ταζη]νὴ καὶ Μὶς Λαβάνας . . . Δόρου κώμην βασιλεύοντες.—K.P. II, 204;

Μέγας [Μὴν] Πετραείτης [τὴν κώμην βα]σιλεύων κ(αὶ) μ[εγάλη θεῶν] Μήτηρ Ταζ[ηνή·—*Ib.* p. 105.

Μέγας Μὴν Οὐράνιος, μεγάλη δύναμις τοῦ . . . θεοῦ.—*Ib.* 211.

Cf. also the remarks of Ramsay, *J.H.S.* x, 1889, p. 226, n. 21, on the cry: Μεγάλη Ἀνάειτις.

In the other lines have been inserted the words which the context appears to require. παραθήκη (*depositum*) would have been the obvious way of lending metal.

The crossed X in l. 4 cannot denote, as it usually does, silver denarii currency because the loan was not of silver coin, but of copper (l. 5). Hultsch, *Metrol.*[2] p. 284, note 3, shows that this same symbol—which in *I. v. Perg.* 374 D denotes the δραχμή—was used for the *denarius* or δραχμὴ *weight*, so it would seem that we must here read (δηνάρια) μ(ύρια), or (δραχμὰς) μ(υρίας), as indicating the weight of the copper.

The *denarius*-weight was the eighty-fourth part of the *libra* (Plin. *N.H.* xii, 62, xxxiii, 132) so that 10,000 δηνάρια = 119 Roman pounds, or about 40 kilograms, an amount of copper which seems reasonable under the circumstances. For Μ as the abbreviation of μ(ύρια), cf. *I. v. Perg.* 553 C, *I.G.R.R.* iii, 1235.

Though the proceedings are not technically described it would seem that Apollonios had brought an action in which Skollos the defendant swore that he had returned the copper (ll. 6–9). This oath may have been taken on demand of the judge or under agreement between the parties. The latter seems the more probable, since an oath based on agreement would have prevented any future revival of the law-suit, so that the sole prospect of redress for Apollonios would have lain in an appeal to the goddess (ll. 10–11). An oath taken at the bidding of the judge would not have had this effect.[1] Such an oath is found in K.P. II, 208, the only

[1] On the difference between these oaths, see Dig. xii, 2, 31, and comments of Demelius, *Schiedseid u. Beweiseid*, 1887, pp. 94, 104.

inscription that closely resembles ours. In that case the oath was prescribed by the judge (*ἐκρίθη ὀμόσε τὸν* 'E.) while the defendant is termed *εἰκανοδότης* (=*qui satis dat*). These technicalities leave little doubt that the proceedings took place not before a priestly tribunal but in the law-courts; hence the same is probably true of the proceedings against Skollos. In both cases the intervention of the gods seems to have been limited to punishing the perjurers. And against Skollos their anger was called forth by the 'cession' of Apollonios (ll. 10–11). This was probably a curse inscribed on a tablet (*πιττάκιον*) and placed before the goddess' shrine (Steinl. p. 103–5).

The only other monument on which Mother *Atimis* and Mên Tiamou are mentioned is the stele from Ayaz-ören in *Μουσεῖον*, 1886, p. 82, *φοδ'*. This place is a short distance from Aivadlar (see Map, K.P. II), so we may locate our sanctuary somewhere near those two villages.

That the date in our last line is by the Sullan era, and thus = A.D. 118/9, is now proved by the Giölde text, K.P. II, 192.

The epithet *Τιάμου*, whose origin has been much discussed, appears to have been strictly localized, as shown by the following list of inscriptions which is believed to be complete. For previous lists of texts mentioning *Μὴν Τιάμου* see Wright (=W.), *Harvard. Class. Stud.* vi, 1895, p. 68; Drexler (=D.), Roscher, *Lex.* ii, 2752–3.

(1) From Giölde: our inscription (=D. 18).
(2) „ „ L.B.W. 678=K.P. II, 183 (=W. 1, D. 12).
(3) „ Menye: *C.I.G.* 3438=L.B.W. 667 (=W. 2, D. 14).
(4) „ Ayaz-ören: *Μουσεῖον*, 1886, p. 82, n. *φοδ'* (=D. 19).
(5) „ Kula: *Cl. Rev.* iii, 1889, p. 69=*Ath. Mitt.* xii, 1887, p. 255 (=W. 5, D. 17).
(6) „ „ : *C.I.G.* 3439=L.B.W. 668 (W. 3, D. 13).
(7) „ „ : *Μουσεῖον*, 1878–80, p. 127, n. 165=*B.C.H.* iv. 1880, p. 128 (=W. 7, D. 15).
(8) „ „ : *Μουσεῖον*, 1884–5, p. 54, n. *υλγ'* (=W. 6, D. 16).
(9) „ „ (probably): *Harv. Cl. Stud.* vi, 1895, p. 56 (=W. 4).
(10) „ Philadelpheia: K.P. I, 38.

Since the god is in most of these inscriptions associated with Artemis (Atimis) or Anaitis, one is tempted to add to this list the most recently published bas-relief from Giölde (Cumont, *C.R. Acad. des Inscr.* 1915, p. 272)

representing an unnamed male deity, probably Μὴν Τιάμου, with Artemis Anaitis. This relief illustrates the passages collected by K.P. II, p. 105 and Steinleitner, p. 14, on the god-βασιλεύς (see l. 1 of our inscription as restored), for the lordly pose of the male deity is precisely that of the portrait-statue of a Roman emperor.

The fact that Τιάμου was a purely Maeonian epithet tends to support the theory (Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 197; K.P. II, p. 105) that it originated from a sanctuary of local celebrity founded by an individual named Τιαμος. The title of Μὴν Κάρου may likewise have originated from the foundation of one Καρος, whose name has recently been discovered in the original Lydian (Littmann, *Sardis*, vi. 1, 1916, pp. 7, 49, 83). Since however it appears probable that divinities such as the Assyrian Marduk were worshipped in Lydia (*ibid.* pp. 4, 43, 85) one must also keep in view the rival theory according to which Τιάμου is derived from Tiāmat: Wright, *op. cit.*; Ramsay, *C.B.* i, pp. 341–2; Roscher, *Lex.* ii, 2752–3.

5.

(= Le Bas-Waddington, 1764b.)

This inscription, copied at Kirmastü near the mouth of the Rhyndakos in Mysia, is probably from Miletopolis, for Kirmastü and Melde have been shown to be near that ancient site (*Ath. Mitt.* xxix, 1904, p. 303).

The bas-relief represents one man felling another to the earth. In the corner is seen an eagle standing at rest above the man who has been overthrown. Beneath is the inscription:

ΔΙΟC ΑΡΗΤΗ ('A mighty work of Zeus.')

This monument is evidently a thank-offering to Zeus. The occasion of the god's intervention, namely the fight between the two men, is here portrayed, just as were the birds of Diokles and the trees of Stratoneikos (see above No. 1). The ἀρετή was in this case the help of Zeus, typified in the eagle, by which the dedicator of the stele had been enabled to overcome his adversary.

This use of ἀρετή in the sense of θεία δύναμις (Hesych. *s.v.*) does not appear to occur in literature, unless we accept the text of Strabo, xvii, 1, 17, συγγράφουσι δέ τινες τὰς θεραπείας, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀρετὰς τῶν ἐνταῦθα λογίων; see *Syll.*² 784, note 2. In this passage, as in the above inscription and in

our n. 1, *ἀρετή* appears to denote an act or manifestation of divine power. But just as *δύναμις* has two meanings (1) "might," (2) "act of might," "mighty work," or "miracle," so we find *ἀρετή* used in the same two senses. Its meaning "mighty work" was doubtless derived from the original meaning "might" which is found in these texts:

I.G. iv, 950 (4th cent. B.C.):

(l. 57) *καὶ τόδε σῆς ἀρετῆς, Ἀσκληπιὲ, [τ]οὔργον ἔδειξας.*

(l. 79) *τι[μ]ῶν σὴν ἀρετὴν, ὦναξ, ὥσπερ τὸ δίκαιον.*

I.G. iv, 954:

Σῆς ἀρετῆς [παράδειγ]μ', Ἀσκληπιὲ, τόνδε ἀνέ[θηκα π]έτρον.

Of the secondary meaning "mighty work" the following epigraphic instances may be cited in addition to the two already mentioned:

(1) Athens: *Ἀθηνάαι Μένεια ἀνέθηκεν ὄψιν ἰδοῦσα ἀρετὴν τῆς θεοῦ.*—*I.G.* ii. 5, 1426*b* = *Syll.*² 784.

(2) Crete: *ἰδοῦσαν] δέ με πλείονας ἀρετὰ[ς τοῦ θεοῦ.*—*Ath. Mitt.* xxi, 1906, pp. 68, 77 = *Syll.*² 806.

(3) Crete: *Ῥόδα Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἀρετὰν [τ]ᾶς θεοῦ.*—*B.C.H.* xxiv, 1900, p. 240.

(4) Rome: *ὅτι ζῶσαι ἀρεταὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.*—*C.I.G.* 5980 = *I.G.* xiv, 966 = *Syll.*² 807 = *I.G.R.R.* i. 41.

(5) Rome (?): *θείας ἐξ ἀθανάτων φωσὶ φράσας ἀρετάς.*—*I.G.* xiv. 2068 = *I.G.R.R.* i, 361 = Kaibel, *Ep. gr.* 615.

(6) Stratonikeia in Caria: *ἐπιφαν]εστάτας παρέχουσα τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἀρετάς.*—*C.I.G.* 2715a = Le Bas-Wadd. 519, ll. 4–5.

See S. Reinach's brilliant article in *B.C.H.* ix, 1885, p. 257 f.; R. Meister, *Leipz. Ber.* 1891, p. 17 f.; Crusius, Pauly-Wiss., *R.E.* ii. 670; Preuner, *Ein delph. Weihgeschenk*, 1900, pp. 94–5.

6.

(= *Ath. Mitt.* xxix, 1904, p. 318).

The good photograph of this small stele published by Wiegand shows a bas-relief of the god Mên, and below it an inscription which may be read and translated thus:

Γαλλικὼ 'Ασκληπίας
κώμης Κερυζέων πα(ι)-
δίσχη (Δ)ιογένου
λύτρον.

'Galliko, female slave of the Asklepian village of the Keryzeis, (dedicates this as) ransom of Diogenes.'

The first line has hitherto been written:

Γαλλικῶ 'Ασκληπιὰς

and the following translation is given by Deissmann (tr. Strachan), *Light from the Ancient East*, 1910, p. 332: 'To Gallicus (= the god Mên) Asklepias (village of Keryza), maidservant of Diogenes, presents this ransom.' Cf. also *J.H.S.* x, 1889, p. 227, n. 25; Roscher, *Lex.* ii. 2701; *Rev. Et. gr.* xiv, 1901, p. 300, n. 1.

Wiegand seems to follow Buresch (*Aus Lydien*, p. 88) in regarding Γαλλικός as an ethnic epithet of Mên. Yet no authority can be cited in support of this view, and since the geographical titles of the god all have a strong flavour of Asia Minor (*e.g.* 'Ασκαηνός, 'Αξιοττηνός, Καμαρείτης, etc.), the cult of a 'Gallic' Mên seems highly improbable.[1] Now a god whose effigy appears upon a stele need not be addressed by name in the text engraved below that effigy (*e.g.* K.P. I, 35). A rendering of our inscription which omits this questionable name of Mên seems therefore preferable to the current version. It only remains to show in the following notes that the translation above proposed is in itself satisfactory.

L. 1. The woman's name, Γαλλικώ, has not to my knowledge previously been found, but it is correctly formed from the male name Γαλλικός (*C.I.G.* 4153; Μουσεῖον, 1886, p. 40, n. φιθ').

Cf. Βιτώ (*I. v. Perg.* 223) and Βίτος (*ib.* 230).
Σωσώ (Michel, 1412, 1420) and Σῶσος (*I.G.R.R.* iii, 704, 1).
Δημώ (K.P. I, n. 44) and Δῆμος (*I. v. Priene*, 313; *I.G.R.R.* i, 1246).
Κλειτώ (*I. v. Perg.* 206) and Κλεῖτος (*ib.* 481).

Names derived from adjectives show the same formation:

Cf. 'Αριστώ and Ἄριστος (*O.G.I.* 809, 893).
Ἱερώ and Ἶερος (*I.G.* ii, 2243, 869).
Καλλιστώ and Κάλλιστος (Pape).
Πρωτώ and Πρῶτος (*I.G.* xii, 5, 186, 144).

[1] Γαλλικός = Gallic, not Galatian, which is Γαλατικός.

Since ethnic or geographical names were often given to slaves (cf. Κύπριος, Michel, 1406; Παρνασσός *O.G.I.* 345), the name Γαλλικώ is appropriate for a παιδίσκη.

Ἀσκληπίας (for Ἀσκληπείας) is the spelling which we should expect at this date in lieu of the correct form Ἀσκληπιείας. The *iota* having dropped out (cf. Ἀσκλήπεια, *I.G.R.R.* i, 153, 442; Μουσεῖον, 1875–6, p. 127, n. λθ′), the adjective became in the current spelling Ἀσκλήπιος; cf. *I. v. Magn.* 122, a, 6: χώ(ριον) Ἀσκλήπιον.

That a sacred village belonging to a sanctuary of Asklepios should be called Ἀσκληπιεία κώμη is characteristic of Asia Minor: cf. Ἱερὰ κώμη (several instances cited by Ramsay, *C.B.* i. p. 132, n. 3); κώμη ἡ Βαιτοκαικηνή (*O.G.I.* 262), Menokome, Atyochorion, Dioskome, etc. And if that village was one of several occupied by the Keryzeis (cf. the group of villages in the Hyrgaleian *koinon*, Ramsay, *op. cit.* i. p. 129), then a full description of Galliko's origin required the village name to be followed by that of this tribe or city: cf. ἐν Καστωλλῶ κώμη Φιλαδελφέων (Buresch, *op. cit.* p. 109, n. 50); Παῦλος Μαξιμῖνος κώμ(ης) Μερδόχων φυλ(ῆς) Αὐδηνῶν (*O.G.I.* 619); ἡ Διοσκωμ[ητ]ῶν κατοικία [τῆ]ς λ. Σεβα[στ]ηνῶν πόλεως (Ramsay, *op. cit.* i. p. 608, n. 498). Buresch (*loc. cit.*) saw difficulties in joining Ἀσκληπίας with κώμης, but did not explain wherein they consist.

Ll. 2, 3. πα(ι)δίσχη. A number of female slaves were doubtless connected with this sacred village. Fränkel's note on the important Pergamene inscription (*I. v. Perg.* 251) describing the priest of Asklepios as master of the ἱεροὶ παῖδες, shews that such slaves were found at all sanctuaries of this god. They would naturally, like Galliko, inhabit the village adjacent to the sacred precinct.

For the dedication of a similar stele by a ἱερόδουλος, see *J.H.S.* x, 1889, p. 225, n. 17 = Steinl. 15. That slaves were able even to make religious foundations is shown by the rules of the sanctuary of Mên engraved for the Lycian slave Xanthos: Michel, 988 = Roberts, ii. 141 = *Syll.*² 633; [best text now in *I.G.* ii, 1², 1365–66 (1916)].

It is better to take (Δ)ιογένου with λύτρον, and to assume that this propitiatory 'ransom' was given on behalf of some sinful relation, perhaps the father or husband, of Galliko. An example of this vicarious propitiation occurs above in No. 4; and others are to be found in Steinl. 4 and 7.

W. H. BUCKLER.

AMERICAN EMBASSY.
LONDON, *Dec.* 1916.

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, November 23rd, 1915, MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, Chairman of the Managing Committee, presiding.

The Secretary of the School (MR. JOHN PENOYRE) submitted the following report on behalf of the Managing Committee for the Session 1914–1915 :—

In issuing their Report for the Session 1914–1915, the Managing Committee beg to state that it has been, in their opinion, neither possible nor reconcilable with public obligation to do more than to give facilities to such few students and ex-students as are ineligible for the National Service, and to maintain the School in good working order to form the nucleus for extended activity in the better future.

A Roll of Honour.—It is proposed to issue at a later date a full list of those connected with the School who are serving their country, or who have already served it to the end. In the meantime all who knew him will grieve for the untimely death of the last Secretary of the School, William Loring. His death brings to a close a life of many and honourable activities characterised throughout by vitality, sincerity and good workmanship. At the School he had been Craven Student, excavator at Megalopolis, and Secretary for six years. In the world of education he was, successively, Examiner in the Education Department, Director of Education in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Warden of the Goldsmiths' College in the University of London. As a soldier he was trooper and corporal in the Imperial Yeomanry, and Lieutenant and Captain in the 2nd Scottish Horse. In South Africa he was severely wounded at Moedwill, being twice mentioned in despatches and receiving the medal for distinguished service in the field. In the present war, after serving in various parts of the kingdom in home defence, he was wounded at Gallipoli, and died on October 22nd on board a hospital ship. Whatever Loring did he did thoroughly and well, but, as was truly said of him at

the impressive service recently held to his memory, his most striking quality was his capacity for bringing out in others something of his own high enthusiasm for good work.

The School has also to deplore the death, in his country's service, of G. L. Cheesman, formerly Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford, and student of the School 1908–1909. His connexion with Athens was not a long one, but the School is proud of its association with an admirable student and teacher of Roman history and antiquities, and a growing power in liberal education.

The Committee regret to record the death of an honorary member of the School, Dr. Alexander Van Millingen, Professor of History in the Robert College, Constantinople. Much of the careful work embodied in his books on Byzantine Constantinople was done under difficulties of ill health and disturbed environment, through which he took his quiet way with an ever-cheerful courage. He had his reward in the subject he loved and in the appreciation of a few friends whom he could seldom see. His influence with his pupils of every nationality at the College is a remarkable instance of the ascendancy which a quiet mind can win over varied and difficult material.

Changes in the Personnel of the School.—The Committee regret to announce that at the end of this session Mr. Hasluck's long and honourable administration as Assistant Director and Librarian comes to an end. Mr. Hasluck was first a student as long ago as 1901, while he has held office since 1906. Many generations of students remember gratefully his kindly help and companionship, while the growth and skilful arrangement of the Library is a memorial of his work in that department. In addition to these official labours Mr. Hasluck has poured forth in Annual after Annual a series of articles of wide range and meticulous accuracy dealing particularly with the later history and antiquities of the Levant. Much of his material, dealing as it does with an unexplored field which he has made peculiarly his own, should find a more permanent form. The Committee have recently had the pleasure of nominating Mr. Hasluck an Honorary Student of the School.

The Committee has received with regret the resignation of a member of their body, Mr. Walter S. George, who has been associated with the School for the past ten years, during which time his artistic taste and unrivalled ingenuity have always been at its service. The good wishes of the School go with Mr. and Mrs. George to his new and important sphere of work in Delhi. Mr. H. H. Jewell, another old student of the School, has been nominated to fill his place.

The Director.—The new Director of the School, Mr. A. J. B. Wace, after completing the Catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Winter Exhibition of Greek and Turkish embroideries, proceeded to Alexandria, where he studied in

the local museum. He reached Athens at the end of November, and spent the session carrying out the ordinary duties of Director while in residence, and also in very varied explorations, of which the following is a summary.

Early in January he left for Macedonia, spending some three weeks in travelling. He first visited the ancient city of Tsiatma, between Domokos and Pharsala, and then travelled from Kalabaka *viâ* Diskata, the monastery of Vunasa, Luziani, Serfije and Kozane to the railway at Sorovich, and thence to Salonica. From Salonica he went to western Chalcidike to explore the Olynthus district. Going by Vasilike and Galatista to Polygyros, he examined the sites of Olynthus and Mekyberna and returned to Salonica by Sufilar and Uchevli, noting several prehistoric sites. At Easter he made a short journey from Chalcis to Carystos, visiting Eretria, Dystos, the ruins at Zarka, and the alleged temple or signal station of the summit of Mt. Ocha. In May, after walking to Sunion down the west coast of Attica, he went to Corinth, where he enjoyed the hospitality of the American School and visited Sicyon, Pheneos, Stymphalos, Nemea, Cleonae, and Solygeios, and also ascended Mt. Kyllene. The greater part of June he spent at Corinth, assisting at the invitation of the American School in the excavation of Mycenaean Corinth (Ephyra), which promises to be a site of great importance. At the end of the excavation he went with Mr. Blegen to Nauplia to study the pottery from Tiryns and Mycenae in the Museum there. In August, during a journey to Bucharest, he visited the museum there and in Sofia, and negotiated with the Bulgarian and Rumanian authorities for exchanging their publications with the *Annual*. At the end of August he paid a short visit to Chaeronea to study the prehistoric pottery in the museum, and then ascended Parnassus by way of Daulis and the Convent of Jerusalem, descending to Tithorea, the walls of which, he reports, are well preserved.

Owing to the impossibility under present conditions of carrying on excavations on a normal scale, the Director, at the suggestion of the Greek authorities, and of Dr. Stais in particular, determined to re-examine the pottery from the excavations at Mycenae, and to conduct if possible a small excavation for stratigraphical purposes at Lerna. The knowledge which has accrued during the last twenty years, and Mr. Wace's own skill as a ceramographist, give good hopes of new light on Mycenaean questions generally from this undertaking.

The Assistant Director.—Mr. F. W. Hasluck, M.A., Librarian and Assistant Director of the School, arrived in Athens at the end of November, and remained there for the rest of the winter, studying various subjects, chiefly connected with the religion and folklore of Turkey, and preparing articles for the *Annual*. Early in March he left Athens for Epirus with the object of collecting information on the Bektashi sect. Owing to continuous bad weather he found it inadvisable to proceed N. of Yannina. Through the kindness of the French Consul, however, he made acquaintance with some leading members of the sect in question, temporarily resident in Yannina, from whom he gained much new and valuable information. Returning *viâ* Arta, he arrived at Athens and set out almost

immediately for Crete, where he got into touch with the Bektashi communities of Candia and Canea to the considerable advantage of his studies. He returned to Athens, and in June set out to continue his researches in E. Macedonia and S. Albania (N. Epirus).

The route taken was (*a*) in Macedonia; *viâ* Larissa to Elassona, Serfije, Anaselitsa, Castoria, and (*b*) in N. Epirus; Korytzà, Kolonia, Leskovik, Premeti, Tepelen, Argyrokastro, Delvino, SS. Quaranta, whence to Corfu. On this route he visited ten Bektashi convents and collected much information, confirming the views, set forth in his article *Ambiguous Cults and Bektashi Propaganda*, as to the history of the sect in S. Albania.

At Corfu he investigated some points in the cult of S. Spyridon, whose church is a place of Bektashi pilgrimage, and collected information on the craft of *eikon*-painting, and in particular on the eikonography of the neomartyr S. George of Yannina († 1838), which offers some points of considerable interest. He returned to Athens July 2.

Mr. Hasluck takes this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Committee, as a possible subject for future students, especially architectural, of this and the Roman school, the important ruins at SS. Quaranta (Onchesmos). In particular the great ruined church of the Forty Saints, noticed already by Leake, deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. It is of very large dimensions (about 28 × 13 m.) and externally rectangular in plan; the walls stand to the springs of the main vaults. The internal plan is, in all probability, unique, the aisles being replaced by three hemicycles on either side. There are traces of a baptistery adjoining the church on the N. side, and there is said to be a large crypt. The church bears all the characteristics of late Roman (rather than Byzantine) buildings, a fact which coincides with the date rendered probable by other considerations—the age of Justinian. Besides this church the ruins at SS. Quaranta include a fort and a small walled town, with churches and other buildings still standing within it, all being of about the same date as the great church. The inn at SS. Quaranta is good and communication with Corfu (two hours) frequent.

Library.—Owing to the unprecedented conditions the accessions to the Library show a natural falling off in number. For gifts of books the School is indebted to the following: H.M. Govt. of India, Society of Antiquaries, Burlington Fine Arts Club, Egypt Exploration Fund (Graeco-Roman Branch), Ἐκπαιδευτικὸς Ὅμιλος (Athens), Μοναστηριακὴ Ἐπιτροπή (Candia). Messrs. MacLehose and the Cambridge University Press have kindly presented works published by them. The following authors have been good enough to present copies of their works:—Prince Caetani, Dr. Crispis, Dr. E. Breccia (Alexandria), Sir Arthur Evans, Prof. Gerola (Ravenna), Prof. Halliday, Prof. Iorga of Bucharest, Dr. Soteriades, Dr. Staïs, Sir C. Waldstein, Dr. Zerbos, Mr. A. E. Zimmern. Donors of miscellaneous works are:—Mr. J. Bourchier, Lady Evans, Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Prof. Iorga, Mr. D. P. Petrococchino, Dr. Siderides, the Director, the Librarian.

The rules of the Library are in course of reissue.

The lack of Students due to the war has been turned to account by the Director for the reorganisation of the Finlay Library, which normally forms the Students' common room. The scheme includes (1) a more permanent arrangement and cataloguing of the Finlay MSS. and Papers, undertaken by the Director, and (2) rearrangement and completion of catalogue of printed books, which has fallen to the Librarian's share. At the end of the session about 600 cards had been written for printed books hitherto uncatalogued (general literature, British and foreign history, novels and miscellanea) and definite shelf-numbers and places assigned to 80 shelves of books. Mr. Hasluck hopes before leaving the School to complete his share of the scheme.

The School Premises.—Improvements are being carried out in the garden which, when completed, will add markedly to the amenities of the temenos. The Director proves a skilled arboriculturist, and the trees are being thinned, rearranged and added to. The tennis court has been reorientated, the lower gate replaced, and steps taken to keep the premises free from unauthorised visitors.

Publications.—The twentieth volume of the *Annual* of the School has just appeared, and the School is once more indebted to Miss C. A. Hutton for acting as editor. Good progress has been made with the publication, on which Prof. Bosanquet and others are engaged, of the remains discovered at Palaikastro, in Crete. Mr. Dawkins' important work on Cappadocia is in the press, and a monograph, on Archaeological Excavation, by an old student, friend and helper of the School, Mr. J. P. Droop, is due to appear.

Acknowledgements.—Acknowledgement has been made, in the course of this report, of much valued help given in various directions, but the thanks of the School are due in an especial degree to H.B.M.'s Minister at Athens, Sir Francis Elliot, for many acts of goodwill; to the Greek archaeological authorities, and especially to Drs. Koruniotis and Staïs; to many ephors of the provinces; and to Prof. Iorga, of Bucharest, and Dr. Breccia, of Alexandria, for facilities given to the Director.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shews a credit balance of £426 17*s.* 2*d.* as compared with a similar balance of £62 10*s.* 4*d.* for the preceding year. The total of the Annual Subscriptions is £655 10*s.*, which shews a falling-off of £116 as compared with last year. Of this decrease £100 is due to the lapse of the subscription from Oxford University. Since the closing of the books we have received a grant of £25 from the University, which will be repeated next year. Expenditure, owing to the suspension of excavations, and the fact that no studentship has been granted during the year, has been considerably less, which accounts for the unusually large surplus of receipts.

The expenses incurred in the publication of the *Annual* shew commendable economy, and are actually less than the receipts for the sales brought into account for the year.

An investment of £1,100 in 3½ per cent. War Stock was effected early in the financial year, and subsequently sufficient of 4½ per cent. War Loan was applied for to admit of the conversion of our holding into the latter security. The conversion has now been carried through, and the investments of the School consist of £2,000 India 3 per cent. Stock and £1,100 of War Loan 4½ per cent.

The Committee cannot ask for any financial help which it would be inconsistent with public obligation to bestow. But whatever can be honourably given to keep the School going to the better future will be, they feel assured, help well merited and well expended.

The Chairman in moving the adoption of the Report touched on the cessation of Mr. Hasluck's appointment, the losses sustained by death, and other points. The adoption of the Report was seconded by DR. LEAF and carried unanimously.

PROFESSOR BOSANQUET proposed the following motion, which was seconded by MR. WHIBLEY, and carried unanimously:—

"That SIR ARTHUR EVANS, Mr. HOGARTH, SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH and MR. ZIMMERN be re-elected on the Committee, that Mr. H. H. JEWELL be elected a member of the Committee in the place of Mr. W. S. GEORGE, who has resigned his seat on his departure for India. That MR. YORKE be reappointed Treasurer and MR. PENOYRE be reappointed Secretary."

A vote of thanks to the Auditors, MESSRS. PRICE, WATERHOUSE, was carried unanimously.

MR. J. P. DROOP then read a paper on "Methods of Archæological Excavation." After pictures of various sites of interest had been shown the proceedings terminated.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1914–1915.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

3RD OCTOBER, 1914, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1915.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received for the year	655	10	0	House Maintenance (as provided from London to June 30th, 1915)	64	16	5
Subscriptions received for past years	28	5	0	Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London to June 30th, 1915) £89 1s. 11d.			
Government Grant	500	0	0	*Less* Students' Fees 1 16 0			
Interest on Investments to Sept. 1st, 1915	79	5	0		87	5	11
Interest on Deposit	28	0	8	Salary—Director	500	0	0
Sale of Annuals, Vols. I.–XVIII.	168	7	10	Salary—Assistant Director	150	0	0
Special Donations for the Tennis Court	3	2	0	Salary—Secretary (to June 30th, 1915)	40	0	0
				Publication of Annual (Vol. XX.)	152	6	2
				Rent to September 30th, 1915	10	0	0
				Printing, Postage, and Stationery	31	4	10
				Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	426	17	2
	£1,462	10	6		£1,462	10	6

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1914, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1915.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	a.
Donations as per list	38	3	0	Library	36	16	11
				Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	1	6	1
	£38	3	0		£38	3	0

BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1915.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions paid in advance . .				3	3	0
Anniversary Fund as per last Account				289	0	6
Mrs. Sach's Trust Fund (Income Account) as per last Account . .	38	4	5			
Received during the year	17	18	7			
				56	3	0
Overdraft at Bank				25	1	9
Balance, representing the assets of the School other than land, buildings, furniture, and library, as per last Account . .	3,232	1	5			
Add Balance of Revenue for the year . .	426	17	2			
Add Balance of Capital Account . . .	1	6	1			
				3,660	4	8
				£4,033	12	11

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investments—						
£2,000 India 3% Stock at par .	2,000	0	0			
£1,100 War Stock 3½% at cost .	1,036	4	3			
£1,100 War Loan 4½% (80 per cent. paid) at cost .	880	0	0			
				3,916	4	3
Cash remitted to Director to be accounted for				100	0	0
Sundry Debtors				17	8	8
				£4,033	12	11

Examined and found correct,

EDWIN WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.

12th November, 1915.

DONATIONS—1914-1915.

DONATIONS, 1914–1915.

	£	s.	d.
Abercromby, Hon. J.	20	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	10	0	0
Queen's College, Oxford	5	0	0
Chance, A. F.	3	3	0
	£38	3	0

SPECIAL DONATIONS FOR THE TENNIS COURT.

Droop, J. P.	1	1	0
Halliday, W. R.	1	0	0
Ormerod, H. A.	1	1	0
	£3	2	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1914-1915.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
Cyprus Museum	1	1	0
King's College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University	5	5	0
Nettleship Library	1	0	0
St. John's College Library	1	0	0
Sydney University	1	1	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
University College, Reading	1	0	0
Victoria University of Manchester	5	0	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0
Museo di Gessi	1	0	0
Emmanuel College	5	0	0
	£289	14	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	289	14	0
Abercromby, Hon. J.	2	2	0
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0
Adcock, F. E.	1	0	0
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T.	1	1	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	1	0	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Beaumont, H. D.	1	1	0
Beazley, J. D.	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bosanquet, Miss E. P.	1	1	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0
Briggs, Miss M. G.	1	1	0
Bristol, Bishop of	1	1	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Burrows, Dr. R. M.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£318	18	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	318	18	0
Buxton, A. F.	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Caspari, M.	1	0	0
Caton, R.	1	1	0
Christie, Miss A.	1	1	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B.	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C.	1	1	0
Clissold, H.	1	0	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Corbett, Sir V.	1	0	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Davidson, H. O. D.	1	1	0
Dickins, G.	1	1	0
Donaldson, Rev. S. A.	1	1	0
Droop, J. P.	1	1	0
Dundas, R. H.	1	0	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, A. J.	10	0	0
Carried forward	£360	15	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1914-1915 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	360	15	0
Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. E. A.	1	1	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Griffith, F. Ll.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	1	0
Hall, H. R.	1	1	0
Halliday, Miss C. H.	1	1	0
Halliday, W. R.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Hart, P.	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. P.	1	1	0
Hawes, Miss	1	1	0
Heberden, Rev. C. B.	2	2	0
Hett, W. S.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, T. E.	1	1	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hooper, G. N.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, Rev. J. H.	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	3	3	0
Karo, Dr. G.	1	1	0
Kenyon, Sir F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
Lawrence, A.	1	1	0
Leaf, Herbert	5	5	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Leigh, E. C. A.	1	1	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Lindley, Miss J.	1	1	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Loewy, Prof. D. E.	1	2	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	1	0	0
Loring, W.	1	1	0
Lunn, W. H.	1	1	0
Lyttelton, Canon Hon. and Rev. E.	1	1	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	1	0	0
Carried forward	£481	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	481	5	0
MacLehose, J. J.	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Macmillan, W. E. F.	1	1	0
Marindin, G. E	1	1	0
Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Matthews, Mrs	1	1	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Miller, W.	1	1	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Minturn, Miss E. T.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0
Moloney, W. A.	1	1	0
Moncrieff, Sir C. S.	1	1	0
Morrison, W.	10	0	0
Moss, Rev. Preb. H. W.	1	1	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. S.	1	1	0
Ogden, Mrs. P.	2	2	0
Palli, Mrs. F. L.	1	1	0
Pearse, Rev. T. H. H. S.	1	1	0
Pearson, Miss E. R.	1	0	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	0
Pennant, Hon. Alice D.	1	1	0
Penoyre, J. B.	1	0	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F.	1	1	0
Petrocochino, D. P.	2	2	0
Phillimore, Prof. J. S.	1	1	0
Pickard-Cambridge, A. W.	1	0	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pilkington, A. C.	1	0	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Pryor, M. R.	1	0	0
Pyddoke, Miss M.	1	1	0
Radford, Miss E.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0
Richards, H. P.	1	1	0
Ridgeway, Prof. W.	1	1	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys	1	1	0
Rodd, Sir R.	1	1	0
Rotton, Sir J. F.	2	2	0
Sandys, Sir J. E.	1	1	0
Schultz, R. W.	1	1	0
Seaman, Sir Owen	1	1	0
Searle, G. von U.	1	1	0
Seebohm, H. E.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£608	19	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1914–1915 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	608	19	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss	1	1	0
Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
Tancock, Capt. A. C.	1	1	0
Tod, M. N.	1	1	0
Tod, Mrs.	5	0	0
Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Vaughan, E. L.		10	0
Verrall, Mrs.	1	1	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Wagner, H.	2	2	0
Waldstein, Sir C.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£638	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	638	1	0
Ward, Dr. A. W.	1	0	0
Weber, Sir H.	1	1	0
Webster, E. W.	1	0	0
Wells, J.	1	1	0
Whibley, Leonard	1	0	0
Wilson, Major H. C. B.	1	1	0
Wilson, R. D.	1	1	0
Withers, J. J.	1	1	0
Woodhouse, W. J.	1	1	0
Woodward, A. M.	1	1	0
Wright, C. T. H.	1	1	0
Wyndham, Hon. M.	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Total	£655	10	0

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received during the year				682	15	0
Paid in advance last year				4	3	0
				686	18	0
Less Paid in advance at date	3	3	0			
Paid on account of the year 1911–12 as below	1	1	0			
Paid on account of the year 1913–14 as below	27	4	0			
				31	8	0
				£655	10	0

Received during the year subscription for 1911–12 :—

W. J. Buckler	£1	1	0

Received during the year subscriptions for 1913–14 :—

Christ Church, Oxford	£20	0	0
Nettleship Library	1	0	0
Beaumont, H. D.	1	1	0
Buckler, W. J.	1	1	0
Curtis, Miss O.	1	0	0
Empedocles, E.	1	1	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
	£27	4	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1914–1915 (*continued*).

Subscriptions received in advance :—	£	s.	d.
Burnet, J. J.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	1	0
Seebohm, H. E.	1	1	0
	£3	3	0

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.[1]

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School was held in the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, on Tuesday, November 28th, 1916, MR. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, Chairman of the Managing Committee, presiding.

MR. JOHN PENOYRE, Secretary of the School, submitted the following Report on behalf of the Managing Committee for the Session 1915–1916:—

The Managing Committee beg to present the following Report for the Session 1915–1916.

During the present eventful years the utmost those entrusted with the management of the School can hope to do is to keep the various departments in working order, ready for renewed activities in the better future, and meantime to render every national service that lies in their power. The Managing Committee are in a position to state that everything possible has been done in both directions, but friends must wait for information under the second heading until after the war.

Roll of Honour.—Since the issue of the last Report, two names must be added to the School's Roll of Honour. The Committee grieve to record the death of Captain Guy Dickins, King's Royal Rifles, on July 17th, from wounds received in action three days before. Captain Dickins was a student of the School for five years (1904–1909). His main interest was in ancient sculpture, and the first volume of the Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum was his work. His clear and concise treatment of the early sculptures is at once an admirable summary and corrective of the needlessly elaborate literature that has overgrown these works. His restoration of the great group by Damophon shewed a rare conjunction of imagination in forming an idea and patience in working it out. It is to be regretted that he did not live to carry out his work on Hellenistic sculpture to which he was attracted by the mass of material, original or derived, awaiting the author of a

[1] Owing to the unavoidable delay in the publication of the *Annual*, the Committee have decided to print the Reports and Balance Sheets, etc., for the two Sessions 1914–1916 in this volume.

comprehensive work devoted to this subject. Friends of the School will be glad to learn that some of his materials will be available for publication in the *Annual* and elsewhere. It might be said of all Dickins' work, save indeed of that which he laid aside for his country's service, that whatever he took up, he saw through to the end; he brought to it a good eye, a full memory, a ready pen, and a real love of the beautiful. The Greeks admired him for his handsome presence and easy tongue, while in the Common Room at the School he was honoured for his gifts and loved for his kind and merry heart.

The School has further to mourn the death on the field of honour of Second-Lieutenant Roger Meyrick Heath, Somersetshire Light Infantry, who enlisted in the Public Schools' Battalion at the beginning of the war, and after having been gazetted to the Somersetshire Light Infantry, crossed to France on September 13th, 1916, and was killed instantaneously by a shell two days later. At Oxford he had been awarded the University Diploma in Archaeology with distinction in Greek Epigraphy. He won the Newdigate and had published a volume of verses. In Heath the School loses a good comrade, a scholar of rare promise, and a true 'inheritor of unfulfilled renown.'

The Director.—During the whole of the Session the Director's services have been lent, with the approval of the Committee, to H.B.M. Legation, where he is employed mainly as director of Relief for the British Refugees from Turkey. He spent June, 1916, at Corinth, at the invitation of the American School, helping Mr. Blegen to continue the excavation of the Mycenaean site discovered last year. Further interesting discoveries were made this year which will throw light on the civilisation of the Peloponnesus in prehistoric times. Remarkable is the discovery of a new prehistoric painted pottery allied to Minyan ware but with fine freehand floral designs recalling those of Phylakopi. In August, Mr. Wace made another short visit of six days to Corinth to see the excavation of another prehistoric site, where ware of the second Thessalian period has been found underlying *Urfirnis* ware. The Committee wish to record their gratification that the Director of the British School was invited to give his help in these important excavations carried on by his American colleagues.

During the winter as time allowed, the Director continued his study of the pottery from Mycenae and superintended the execution of archaeological drawings made by M. E. Gilliéron, fils. The Director also conducted the examination, at the instance of the Ministry of National Economy, of candidates for a diploma in English to enable them to become teachers of English in the public commercial schools. In a similar capacity he had the pleasure of assisting his French colleague, M. Fougères, in conducting examinations for the French Ministry of Public Instruction. He was also consulted by H.R.H. Princess Alice with reference to an exhibition of Greek embroideries and other arts which she proposed to hold.

The Library.—Some New Rules for the management of the Library have been put in force, and, so far as can be seen at present, work well. The Library,

in view of the abnormal conditions, has been closed to the general public, but students have been able to obtain admission. Mr. Dawkins and Mr. Hasluck have worked there during the Session as well as members of the French and American Schools and several Greek scholars. In addition some resident subscribers and various members of the British colony have made use of it. The additions to the Library have been few. Several important works have been received from the Trustees of the British Museum—but these, with other books given to the School, have not yet been despatched to Athens; the actual additions consist mainly of periodicals and a certain number of books presented by their authors or by friends of the School. Mr. Hasluck, Professor Andreades, Mr. Petrocochino and Mr. Fotheringham may be named among these. Mr. Compton Mackenzie has kindly presented his books to the Common Room Library.

The School Premises.—Various visitors to Athens on Government service have availed themselves of the Director's invitation to stay in the Hostel. Sundry minor repairs to the fabric have been executed and the question of fitting wire gauze mosquito screens to all the doors and windows is under consideration. The Director's house has been improved by the installation of a bathroom and the purchase of appropriate furniture for the old Library. The improvements planned by the Director in the garden continue to take shape, but have been somewhat seriously impeded by a very hot and dry season which has made gardening very difficult. The work at present in hand is the levelling of the banks on either side of the main walk leading down to the Hostel, and an attempt to give it an architectonic appearance more in keeping with the general laying out of the garden. Two garden benches given by the Hon. W. Erskine have been added to the Hostel garden. The new tennis court has been much used and from every point of view is a great success.

Suggested Purchase of Additional Land.—During the Session the Monastery of the Holy Angels near the School obtained leave from the Ministry of Ecclesiastics to offer for sale the plot of land directly opposite the Schools on the slope of Lycabettus, on the other side of Speusippus Street. A sale by auction of some lots actually took place but through the vigorous representations of the Directors of the two schools, aided by the British and American Ministers, this sale was annulled and the two schools now have a right of pre-emption, subject to certain limitations. In this connection the School is much indebted to Sir F. Elliot, who in this has, as always, shown himself a warm friend of the School, to Mr. Hill, to whom the bulk of the negotiations have so far fallen, and to Mr. Ioannides of the Ecclesiastical Commission for friendly advice and help.

Acknowledgments.—In addition to the persons mentioned above the School is deeply grateful to Mr. Kuruniotis, Chief of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry of Education, for his kindness to the School, and to Dr. Stais, Director of the National Museum, for the courteous help he invariably gives to those who

wish to study the treasures in his charge. To Miss Hutton the School owes this year a double debt of gratitude for undertaking, in Mr. Penoyre's absence, much of the secretarial work of the School, in addition to the valued help she has so long given by editing the *Annual*.

Publications.—Considerable progress has been made with the arrangement of the material for the Palaikastro publication. The plans have been completed by Mr. W. S. George, Mr. H. H. Jewell, and Mr. Heaton Comyn, and some of the illustrations have been prepared, but for the present the work is at a standstill owing to the absence abroad of Professor Bosanquet and Mr. R. M. Dawkins.

The appearance of Vol. xxi. of the *Annual* has been delayed by difficulties inseparable from the present conditions, but the Editors hope to distribute it early in the New Year. It contains papers by Dr. Leaf, the late Guy Dickins, the Director, Mr. Hasluck and others.

Mr. R. M. Dawkins' important study of the dialect of Cappadocia, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, appeared in June, 1916, and has aroused great interest, not only among philologists, but among folk-lorists, for the work includes a large collection of Folk-tales. A chapter on the subject-matter of these tales is contributed by another ex-student of the School, Professor W. R. Halliday.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shows a credit balance of £561 18*s.* 4*d.*, as compared with a similar balance of £426 17*s.* 2*d.* for the preceding year.

The total of the Annual Subscriptions is only £588 16*s.* 0*d.*, a decrease of £86 0*s.* 0*d.* as compared with last year, and of £202 0*s.* 0*d.* as compared with two years ago.

Expenditure has remained low owing to the causes mentioned in last year's Report and the saving of a salary to an Assistant Director.

Credit is taken in the Accounts for the sale of the *Annual*, while the expenditure on the forthcoming *Annual*, which in normal times would have appeared in the Accounts, will, owing to the delay in its publication, not be shewn until next year.

The reasons for the serious decrease in our subscriptions are too obvious for comment, but it is earnestly hoped that bottom has now been touched, and that there will be no further falling-off to be reported in next year's Accounts.

The CHAIRMAN then delivered the following address :—

The first paragraphs of the Report which is in your hands shew that the Director, in spite of other claims arising out of the war, has been able to do some archaeological work of real importance in connexion with the American excavations at Corinth. I may touch later upon the war work which has centred round the School and Hostel, although the time has not yet come for a full record.

As last year, we have again to mourn the loss of distinguished members of the

School who have fallen in the service of their country. Of these, special mention is due to Guy Dickins, whose past services to the School are known to us all, and who has shewn on the field of battle, as all his friends could have foreseen, the same high qualities of manliness and courage, of hard work and devotion to duty, which marked his career as a student and a teacher. Mr. Roger Heath was much younger, but had done very promising work. There is something specially tragic in the fact that he met his death within only a day or two of his arrival on the Western front.

By the death of Sir Edwin Egerton the School has lost a friend whose kind offices were constantly at its disposal, both while he was British Minister in Athens, and after his transfer to other diplomatic posts. He was specially active on the School's behalf in the memorable year 1895, when the meeting held by the then Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.) at St. James's Palace was followed almost immediately by the successful petition in favour of a Government grant.

Mr. Macmillan then referred to the political situation in Greece as causing serious anxiety to all true friends of the country. He also referred at some length to services rendered to the Allied cause in the Levant by the Director and other distinguished former students of the School, drawing freely upon an article on the subject which had appeared in the *Times* in August, 1916.

Mr. Macmillan then mentioned a charge made against the British naval authorities by an eminent German archaeologist, of bombarding the site of the temple of Apollo at Didyma, and the statements made from observations on the spot by a former student of the School which seemed to show that the charge was unfounded.

After a passing reference to the use made of the Hostel by various visitors to Athens, as mentioned in the Report, the Chairman concluded :

We are proud to think that at a time when its normal functions are suspended the School and its members have been able to render useful service in the great cause in which the nation and its allies are now engaged. And we must all hope that our Director, Mr. Wace, who has himself been active in such work, may, after the grave anxieties which have overshadowed his first years in office, yet have the satisfaction of resuming his natural occupations, with a full complement of students, and add, with his wide knowledge and prolonged experience of the country, to the prestige gained by the School under his distinguished predecessors.

I have much pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

MR. MACMILLAN concluded by moving the adoption of the Report. This was seconded by MR. ARTHUR SMITH and carried unanimously.

MR. FARSIDE proposed and PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER seconded the following motion, which was carried unanimously : 'That MR. J. P. DROOP be elected a member of the Committee, and that PROFESSOR

BOSANQUET, PROFESSOR J. L. MYRES, and MR. L. WHIBLEY, retiring under Rule XIII. (3), and being eligible for re-election, be re-elected on the Committee. That MR. V. W. YORKE be re-elected Treasurer, and MR. PENOYRE Secretary.'

The proceedings closed with a unanimous vote of thanks to the Auditors, MESSRS. PRICE, WATERHOUSE.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1915–1916.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE.

3RD OCTOBER, 1915, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1916.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received for the year	588	16	0	House Maintenance (as provided from London from July 1st, 1915, to Sept. 30th, 1916)	90	3	2
Subscriptions received for the year 1914–15	2	2	0	Hostel Maintenance (as provided from London £ s. d. to Sept. 30th, 1916) 192 15 6			
Government Grant	500	0	0	*Less* Students' Fees and other Receipts 178 10 8			
Interest on Investments to July 5th, 1916	109	10	0		14	4	10
Interest on Deposit to June 30th, 1916	21	3	6	Salary—Director	500	0	0
Sale of Annuals, Vols. I.–XIX.	103	6	3	Salary—Secretary (to June 30th, 1916)	40	0	0
Special Donation for Excavations in Crete	1	1	0	Publication of Annual (Vol. XX.)	23	11	5
				Rent to September 30th, 1916	10	0	0
				Printing, Postage, and Stationery,	13	5	5
				Expenditure in connection with Excavations	41	16	6
				Expenditure on Tennis Court (half-share)	30	19	1
				Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	561	18	4
	£1,325	18	9		£1,325	18	9

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1915, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1916.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Donations as per list	30	0	0	Library	4	19	0
				Loss on conversion of 3½% War Loan	9	15	9
				Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure	15	5	3
	£30	0	0		£30	0	0

BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1916.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions paid in advance . .				3	3	0
Anniversary Fund as per last Account				289	0	6
Mrs. Sach's Trust Fund as per last Account .	56	3	0			
Received during the year	16	3	9			
				72	6	9
Balance, representing the assets of the School other than land, buildings, furniture, and library, as per last Account . . .	3,660	4	8			
Add Balance of Revenue for the year . .	561	18	4			
Add Balance of Capital Account, . . .	15	5	3			
				4,237	8	3
				£4,601	18	6

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investments—						
India 3% Stock at par . . .	2,000	0	0			
4½% War Loan ditto	1,100	0	0			
				3,100	0	0
Cash at Bank—						
Current Account .	163	14	4			
Deposit ditto . .	1,300	0	0			
				1,463	14	4
Sundry Debtors				38	4	2
				£4,601	18	6

Examined and found correct,

EDWIN WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.

27th November, 1916.

DONATIONS—1915-1916.

DONATIONS, 1915-1916.

	£	s.	d.
Oxford University	25	0	0
Queen's College, Oxford	5	0	0
	£30	0	0

SPECIAL DONATION FOR EXCAVATIONS IN CRETE.

Cooke, R.	1	1	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1915-1916.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
Cyprus Museum	1	1	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University	5	5	0
Nettleship Library	1	0	0
St. John's College Library	1	0	0
Sydney University	1	1	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
University College, Reading	1	0	0
Victoria University of Manchester	5	0	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0
Emmanuel College	5	0	0
	£278	14	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	278	14	0
Abercromby, Hon. J.	2	2	0
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0
Adcock, F. E.	1	0	0
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T.	1	1	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	1	0	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bosanquet, Miss E. P.	1	1	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0
Briggs, Miss E. M.	1	1	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Browne, Rev. G. F.	1	1	0
Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Burrows, Dr. R. M.	1	1	0
Buckler, W. H.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Buxton, A. F.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£307	18	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	307	18	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Christie, Miss A.	1	1	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B.	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C.	1	1	0
Clissold, H.	1	0	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Dickins, G.	1	1	0
Droop, J. P.	1	1	0
Dundas, R. H.	1	0	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Empedocles, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, Sir A. J.	10	0	0
Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
Carried forward	£349	14	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1915–1916 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	349	14	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. E. A.	1	1	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Griffith, F. Ll.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	1	0
Hall, H. R.	1	1	0
Halliday, Miss C. H.	1	1	0
Halliday, W. R.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Hart, P.	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. P.	1	1	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0
Hett, Capt. W. S.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, J. E.	1	1	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	3	3	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
Jewell, H. H.	1	1	0
Karo, Dr. C.	1	1	0
Kenyon, Sir F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Leigh, E. C. A.	1	1	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Lindley, Miss J.	1	1	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	1	0	0
Lunn, W. H.	1	1	0
Lyttelton, Canon Hon. and Rev. E.	1	1	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	1	0	0
Macmillan, G. A.	25	0	0
Macmillan, W. E. F.	1	1	0
Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Matthews, Mrs.	1	1	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0
Moloney, W. A.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£491	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	491	2	0
Moncrieff, Sir C. S.	1	1	0
Moss, Rev. Preb. H. W.	1	1	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Negreponte, Miss H.	1	1	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. S.	1	1	0
Ogden, Mrs. P.	2	2	0
Palli, Mrs. F. L.	1	1	0
Pearse, Rev. T. H. H. S.	1	1	0
Pearson, Miss E. R.	1	0	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	0
Pennant, Hon. Alice D.	1	1	0
Penoyre, J. B.	1	0	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F.	1	1	0
Petrocochino, D. P.	2	2	0
Phillimore, Prof. J. S.	1	1	0
Pickard-Cambridge, A. W.	1	0	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pilkington, A. C.	1	0	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Pryor, M. R.	1	0	0
Pyddoke, Miss M.	1	1	0
Radford, Miss E.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendel, G. W.	2	2	0
Richards, H. P.	1	1	0
Ridgeway, Prof. W.	1	1	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys	1	1	0
Rodd, Sir R.	1	1	0
Rotton, Sir J. F.	2	2	0
Sandys, Sir J. E.	1	1	0
Seaman, Sir Owen	1	1	0
Searle, G. von U.	1	1	0
Seebohm, H. E.	1	1	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss	1	1	0
Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
Tancock, Capt. A. C.	1	1	0
Tod, M. N.	1	1	0
Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Vaughan, E. L.		10	0
Verrall, Mrs.	1	1	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Wagner, H.	2	2	0
Waldstein, Sir C.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£571	7	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1915-1916 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	571	7	0
Ward, Dr. A. W.	1	0	0
Weber, Sir H.	1	1	0
Webster, E. W.	1	0	0
Wells, J.	1	1	0
Whibley, Leonard	1	0	0
Wilson, Major H. C. B.	1	1	0
Wilson, R. D.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£578	11	0

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	578	11	0
Withers, J. J.	1	1	0
Woodhouse, W. J.	1	1	0
Woodward, A. E.	1	1	0
Wright, C. T. H.	1	1	0
Wyndham, Hon. M.	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Total	£588	16	0

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received during the year	590	18	0			
Paid in advance last year	3	3	0			
				594	1	0
Less Paid in advance at date	3	3	0			
Paid on account of the year 1914–15 as below	2	2	0			
				5	5	0
				£588	16	0

Received during the year subscriptions for 1914–15 :—

Empedocles, G.	1	1	0
Buckler, W. H.	1	1	0
	£2	2	0

Subscriptions received in advance :—

Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Haigh, P. B.	1	1	0
Seebohm, H. E.	1	1	0
	£3	3	0

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NOTE. Under No. V. of the Rules and Regulations, "the following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.
(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription."

In making out the following list, donations of less than £10 have been regarded as aggregate annual subscriptions of £1, and are spread over a corresponding number of years.

The Treasurer would be glad to be informed of any changes of address or errors in this list, which is made up to June 1st, 1917.

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Macmillan, G. A., Esq., D.Litt., St. Martin's Street, W.C.
Macmillan, & Co., Ltd., Messrs., St. Martin's Street, W.C.
Macmillan, W. E. F., Esq., 42, Onslow Square, S.W.
Marshall, F. H., Esq., 144, Abbey Road, West Hampstead, N.W.
Matthews, Mrs., 15, Stanley Gardens, Bayswater, W.
Mayor, R. J. G., Esq., Board of Education, Whitehall, S.W.
Miller, The Rev. Alex., South United Free Church Manse, Buckie, N.B.
Miller, W., Esq., 36, Via Palestro, Rome.
Milne, J. G., Esq., Bankside, Goldhill, Farnham, Surrey.

Mitchell, Mrs., Jesmond Towers, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Moloney, W. A., Esq., Reuter's Telegram Co., 24, Old Jewry, E.C.
Monk, The Misses, 4, Cadogan Square, S.W.
Montefiore, C. G., Esq., 8, Palace Green, Kensington, W.
Morrison, Walter, Esq., 77, Cromwell Road, S.W.
Murray, Messrs. J. & H., 50, Albemarle Street, W.
Murray, Prof. G. G. A., 82, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
Murray, Hallam, Esq., The Home Farm, Sandling, Hythe, Kent.
Myers, Ernest, Esq., Brackenside, Chislehurst, Kent.
Mylne, Mrs., 145, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
Myres, Prof. J. L., 101, Banbury Road, Oxford.

Negreponte, Miss H., 40, Leophoros Amalias, Athens.
Newman, W. L., Esq., Litt.D., D.Litt., 1, Pittville Lawn, Cheltenham.
Nightingale, Mrs. H. Shore-, 1, Devonshire Place, W.

Ogden, Mrs. P., c/o British American Tobacco Co., Westminster House, 7, Millbank, S.W.1.
Oswald, J. W. Gordon, Esq. (of Aigas), Beauly, Inverness-shire, N.B.

Palli, Mrs. F. L., c/o London & Westminster Bank, St. James's Square, S.W.
Paton, W. R., Esq., Vathy, Samos.
Pears, Sir E.
Pearson, Miss E. R., M.A., St. Edith's School, Brackley, Northants.
Pease, Wilson. Esq., 22, Mount Street, W.
Pease, Mrs. J. W., Pendower, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Penoyre, J. ff. B., Esq., 8, King's Bench Walk, Inner Temple, E.C.
Penrose, Miss E., Somerville College, Oxford.
Pesel, Miss Louisa, Oak House, Bradford, Yorks.
Petrocochino, D. P., Esq., 25, Rue de Timoleon, Athens.
Phillimore, Prof. J. S., The University, Glasgow.
Phillips, Mrs. H., Sutton Oaks, Macclesfield, Cheshire.
Piddington, J. G., Esq., Holy Well, Hook Heath, Woking.
Pilkington, A. C., Esq., Rocklands, Rainhill, Lancashire.
Pilkington, R. A., Esq., Ecclestone Grange, Prescot, Lancs.
Pollock, The Right Hon. Sir F., Bart., 21, Hyde Park Place, W.
Powell, Miss E., The Library, Somerville College, Oxford.
Poynter, Sir E. J., Bart., P.R.A., 70, Addison Road, W.
Pryor, Marlborough R., Esq., Weston Park, Stevenage, Herts.
Pyddoke, Miss Mary, T.S. "Cornwall," Purfleet, Essex.

Rackham, H. Esq., Christ's College, Cambridge.
Radford, Miss E., Belgian Colony, The Grange, Littleport Road, Ely.
Ralli, P., Esq., 17, Belgrave Square, S.W.
Ralli, Mrs. S., St. Catherine's Lodge, Hove, Sussex.
Reid, Prof. J. S., Litt.D., Caius College, Cambridge.
Rendall, The Rev. G. H., Litt.D., Dedham House, Dedham, Essex.
Rendell, G. W., Esq., British Legation, Athens, Greece.
Ridgeway, Prof. W., Fen Ditton, Cambridge.
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys, The University, Leeds.
Rodd, Sir Rennell, K.C.M.G., British Embassy, Rome.
Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., The Durdans, Epsom.
Rothschild, Messrs. N. M., and Sons, New Court, E.C.
Rothschild, The Hon. Walter, 148, Piccadilly, W.
Rotton, Sir J. F., Lockwood, Frith Hill, Godalming.

Salter, Mrs., 2, Campden Hill Gardens, Kensington, W.
Sandys, Sir John, Litt.D., St. John's House, Grange Road, Cambridge.
Saumarez, The Right Hon. Lord de, Shrubland Park, Coddenham, Suffolk.
Scott, C. P., Esq., The Firs, Fallowfield, Manchester.
Scouloudi, Etienne, Esq., Athens, Greece.
Seaman, Sir Owen, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.
Searle, G. von U., Esq., 30, Edith Road, West Kensington, W.
Seebohm, Hugh, Esq., Poynder's End, Hitchin.
Sharpe, Miss C., Stoneycroft, Elstree.
Shove, Miss E., 30, York Street Chambers, Bryanston Square, W.
Simpson, W. W., Esq., Winkley, Whalley.
Sloane, Miss E. J., 13, Welford Road, Leicester.
Smith, A. H., Esq., British Museum, W.C.
Smith, Sir Cecil H., C.V.O., LL.D., 62, Rutland Gate, S.W.
Smith-Pearse, Rev. T. N., Castle Street, Launceston, Cornwall.
Sullivan, John, Esq.

Tancock, Capt. A. D., 31st Punjabis, Parachinar, Kurram Valley, *via* Kohat, N.W.P. India.
Thompson, Sir E. M., G.C.B., Mayfield, Sussex.
Thompson, H. Y., Esq., 19, Portman Square, W.

Tod, M. N., Esq., Oriel College, Oxford.
Townshend, Brian, Esq., 13, Plantation Avenue, Oxford.
Tuke, Miss Margaret, Bedford Coll., Regent's Park, N.W.

Vaughan, E. L., Esq., Eton College.
Vaughan, H., Esq.
Vince, J. H., Esq., Bradfield College, Berkshire.

Wace, Mrs., Leslie Lodge, Hall Place, St. Albans.
Wagner, H., Esq., 13, Half Moon Street, W.
Waldstein, Sir Charles, Litt.D., Newton Hall, nr. Cambridge.
Wandsworth, The Right Hon. Lord, 10, Great Stanhope Street, W.
Wantage, The Lady, 2, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
Ward, Sir A. W., Master of Peterhouse College, Cambridge.
Waterhouse, Edwin, Esq., Feldemore, near Dorking.
Weber, Sir H., M.D., 10, Grosvenor Street, W.
Webster, E. W., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
Wells, J., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
West, H. H., Esq., Oakwood Lodge, Chandler's Ford, Hants.
Whibley, Leonard, Esq., Pembroke College, Cambridge
Williams, W. C. A., Esq., Garden House, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.
Wilson, Major H. C. B., Crofton Hall, Crofton, Wakefield.
Wimborne, The Right Hon. Lord, 22, Arlington Street, S.W.
Withers, J. J., Esq., Howard House, 4, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.
Woodhouse, Prof. W. J., The University, Sydney, N.S.W.
Woodward, A. M., Esq., The University, Leeds.
Woodward, W. H., Esq,, Crooksbury Hurst, Farnham.
Wright, C. T. H., Esq.,
Wright, Dr. Hagberg, London Library, St. James's Square, W.
Wyndham, Hon. Margaret, 12, Great Stanhope Street, W.

Yorke, V. W., Esq., Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.
Yule, Miss A., Tarradale House, Ross-shire.

Zimmern, A. E., Esq., 14, Great Russell Mansions, Great Russell Street, W.C.

DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1916.

F. C. PENROSE, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., 1886—1887

ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A., 1887—1895.

CECIL H. SMITH, LL.D., 1895—1897.

DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A., 1897—1900.

R. CARR BOSANQUET, M.A., 1900—1906.

R. McG. DAWKINS, M.A., 1906—1914.

A. J. B. WACE, M.A., 1914—

HONORARY STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1916.

Prof. J. B. Bury, LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt.	King's College, Cambridge. Elected 1895.
Sir Arthur J. Evans, LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.	Late Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Elected 1895.
Prof. J. Linton Myres, M.A.	A former Student of the School. Elected 1896.
Prof. Ernest Gardner, Litt.D.	Formerly Director of the School. Elected 1897.
*Prof. A. van Millingen, M.A., D.D.	Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople. Elected 1904.
*W. H. Forbes, M.A.	Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Elected 1906.
Prof. W. J. Woodhouse.	Professor in the University of Sydney. Formerly Student of the School. Elected 1908.
A. J. B. Wace, M.A.	Director of the School. Late Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology at the University of St. Andrews. Elected 1912.
J. D. Beazley, M.A.	Student of Christ Church, Oxford. Elected 1914.
E. N. Gardiner, M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Elected 1914.
R. McG. Dawkins, M.A.	Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Formerly Director of the School. Elected 1914.
F. W. Hasluck, M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Formerly Assistant Director and Librarian of the School. Elected 1915.

* Deceased.

STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.[1]

1886—1916.

Ernest A. Gardner. Litt.D.	Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Yates Professor of Archaeology and Public Orator in the University of London. Admitted 1886—87 as Cambridge and Craven University Student. Director of the School, 1887—1895. Hon. Student of the School.
David G. Hogarth. M.A.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Director of the School 1897—1900. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
*Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks, and Rural Dean of Wendover. Admitted 1886—87.
F. H. H. Guillemard. M.A., M.D., F.L.S., etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James. Litt.D.	Provost and late Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University.
R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, University College, London. Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
R. W. Schultz Weir (R. W. Schultz).	Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.
Sidney H. Barnsley.	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.
J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Fellow, Bursar and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
Sir J. G. Frazer. LL.D., D.C.L.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
†William Loring. M.A.	Warden of Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Secretary of the School, 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

[1] * Before a name signifies "deceased." † Signifies "died on Active Service." At a later date the Committee propose to issue a complete list, showing the services, military and otherwise, rendered during the war by Students of the School. † Died of wounds, October 22nd, 1915.

W. J. Woodhouse. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93. Honorary Student of the School.

G. C. Richards. M.A. Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91.

O. H. Parry. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of All Hallows, East India Dock. Formerly Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889—90.

J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.L. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.

R. A. H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.

A. G. Bather. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1892—93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student.

E. E. Sikes. M.A. Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.

J. G. Milne. M.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.

H. Stuart Jones. M.A. Fellow and formerly Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.

Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong). Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Formerly Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.

F. Brayne Baker. M.A. Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.

C. C. Inge. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of St. Giles', Oxford. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.

E. F. Benson, M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.

J. G. Piddington. B.A. (J. G. Smith) Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.

V. W. Yorke. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.

J. L. Myres. M.A. Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Student and Tutor of Christ Church. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Gladstone Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.

R. J. G. Mayor. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.
R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894—95. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1895—96 and 1896—97.
J. M. Cheetham, M.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay. M.A.	Sent out as holder of Brown-Downie Fellowship by the United Presbyterian Church, Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. Admitted 1894—95.
J. G. Duncan. M.A., B.D.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Minister of Kirkmichael, Ballindalloch, N.B. Admitted 1894—95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
*H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna)	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—6. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
C. R. Rowland Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
*F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Pieter Rodeck.	Architect, Cairo. Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and sometime Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot. M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Director of Education, Sudan Government. Formerly Inspector in the Ministry of Education, Cairo. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid. B.D.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Minister of the Church of Scotland, Dumbarton, N.B. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.

A. E. Henderson. F.S.A. R.B.A.	Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—02, and 1902—03.
W. A. Curtis. D.Litt., D.D. (Edin.)	Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism and Biblical Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh. Formerly Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen. Admitted 1897—98.
A. J. Spilsbury. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Head Master of Wakefield Grammar School. Formerly Senior Classical Master, City of London School. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
E. B. Hoare.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
J. C. Lawson. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
C. D. Edmonds. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Formerly at Aldenham School. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—99.
Sir John H. Marshall, Kt. C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A.	Scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898—99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student, 1900—01, Craven Student, 1901—2.
*Clement Gutch. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
F. B. Welch. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Head Master of Wadham House Prep. School, Hale, Cheshire. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
T. D. Atkinson. F.R.I.B.A.	Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Ely. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—99.
J. K. Fotheringham. M.A., D.Litt.	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—99.
J. H. Hopkinson. M.A.	University College, Oxford. Vicar of Holy Trinity, Colne, Lancs. Formerly Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—01.
S. C. Kaines-Smith.	Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.
Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith).	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe. F.R.I.B.A.	Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
†K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer at the Queen's University, Belfast. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—01.
R. D. Wells. M.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—01.

† Killed in action, September 4th, 1914.

J. ff. B. Penoyre. M.A.	Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British School at Athens. Admitted 1900—01. Re-admitted 1906—7, 1907—8.
Marcus N. Tod. M.A.	Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901–02.
F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director and Librarian of the School from 1906–1915. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1902—03, 1904—05, 1905—06. Honorary Student of the School.
C. Heaton Comyn. A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1903-04.
Miss H. L. Lorimer.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—02.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—02.
A. P. Oppé. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Victoria and Albert Museum. Formerly Examiner in the Board of Education. Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrews University, and Lecturer in Ancient History at Edinburgh University. Admitted 1901—02.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D., M.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—03.
C. T. Currelly. M.A., F.R.G.S. O. Medj.	Victoria College, Toronto. Director of the Royal Museum, Ontario. Formerly Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903–04.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Director of the School from 1906—14. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted as Craven Student, 1903—04. Re-admitted 1904—05.
E. S. Forster. M.A., F.S.A.	Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Greek in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Director of the School. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology at University of St. Andrews. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903—04, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09, 1909—10, 1910—11. Honorary Student of the School.
E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy, 1904. Admitted 1902—03.
J. B. Fulton. A.R.I.B.A.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902—03.
E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902—03.
M. O. B. Caspari. B.A.	Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. University Scholar in German. Admitted 1903—04.

J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School since 1905. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903–04.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Studentship. Admitted 1903–04.
†G. Dickins. M.A.	Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904—05. Re-admitted as School Student, 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09. Re-admitted 1912—13.
C. C. T. Doll. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Superintending Architect at the excavations at Knossos since 1905. Admitted 1904—05.
C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Anthropology, Dartmouth College, U.S.A. Admitted 1904—05.
W. A. Kirkwood. M.A.	University College, Toronto. Admitted 1904—05.
H. J. W. Tillyard. M.A.	Caius College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904—05 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to Studentship), 1906—07, 1908—09. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss G. M. A. Richter. Litt.D.	Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Curator in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904—05.
J. P. Droop. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Late Assistant to Dr. Stein in the arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905—06. Prendergast Student 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09, 1910—11. Re-admitted 1912—13, 1913–14.
Miss M. Hamilton. M.A. D.Litt. (Mrs. G. Dickins).	University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Fellowship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905—06, 1906—07.
A. C. B. Brown. M.A.	Scholar of New College, Oxford. Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905—06.
F. Orr.	Admitted 1905—06.
R. Traquair. A.R.I.B.A.	Admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Professor of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal. Student of the Byzantine Fund.
Miss E. B. Abrahams. M.A. (Mrs. Culley).	Bedford College, London. Admitted 1905—06.
W. J. Farrell. M.A.	Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09.
Walter S. George.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal College of Art. Soane Medallist of Royal Institute of British Architects. Admitted 1906—07. Re-admitted 1908—9, 1909—10, as Student of the Byzantine Research Fund. Re-admitted 1912—13.
T. E. Peet. B.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Officer of Egypt Explor. Fund. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1906—07, 1908—09.
A. M. Woodward. M.A.	Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Assistant Lecturer in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Leeds. Assistant Director, 1909—10. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—08, 1908—09.

† Died of wounds, July 17th, 1916.

W. M. Calder. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Professor of Greek in Victoria University, Manchester. Formerly Wilson Travelling Fellow, Aberdeen University. Research Student, Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
W. Harvey.	Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907—08.
H. Pirie-Gordon. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
M. S. Thompson. B.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham University Scholarship. Admitted 1907—08, 1908—09, 1909—10, 1910—11.
A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907—08.
N. Whatley. M.A.	Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
†G. L. Cheesman. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908—09.
A. W. Gomme. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University of Glasgow. Previously Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Liverpool University. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1908—09
L. B. Budden. M.A., A.R.I.B.A.	Travelling Student in Architecture of the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909—10.
S. W. Grose. M.A.	Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. From 1914, Cataloguing McClean Collection of Greek Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum. School Student. Admitted 1909—10.
H. A. Ormerod. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909—10, 1910—11.
H. H. Jewell.	Royal Academy Gold Medallist. Admitted 1909—10.
W. R. Halliday. B.A., B.Litt.	New College, Oxford. Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1910—11. Re-admitted 1912—13.
Miss D. Lamb.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11; 1913—14.
Miss L. E. Tennant. (Mrs. F. J. Watson Taylor.)	Admitted 1910—11.
E. S. G. Robinson. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Assistant in the Coin and Medal Dept., British Museum. School Student. Admitted 1910—11.
L. B. Tillard. B.A.	St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910—11.
A. J. Toynbee. M.A.	Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911—12.
R. S. Darbishire. B.A.	Balliol College, Oxford. Admitted 1911—12.
Miss M. M. Hardie. (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck.)	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1911—12.
E. M. W. Tillyard. M.A.	Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1911—12.
M. L. W. Laistner. B.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Late Lecturer in Archaeology and Ancient History, Queen's University, Belfast. Craven Student. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14 as School Student.
S. Casson. B.A.	St. John's College, Oxford. School Student. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.

† Killed in action, August 10th, 1915.

R. S. Lambert.	Repton School.
Gordon Leith.	Holder of Herbert Baker Studentship. Admitted 1912—13.
C. A. Scutt. B.A.	Prendergast Student of the University of Cambridge. Admitted 1912—13. Re-admitted 1913—14.
†R. M. Heath. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1913-14.
J. Boxwell. B.A.	Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. Travelling Scholar of Union of South Africa. Admitted 1913-14.
Miss M. N. L. Taylor.	Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1913—14.
J. Arnott Hamilton. M.A.	University of Edinburgh. Holder of the Blackie Scholarship. Admitted 1913—14.
Miss E. Radford.	Admitted 1913—14.
Miss Agnes Conway.	Admitted 1913—14.
Rev.W.A.Wigram. D.D.	Admitted 1913—14.

† Killed in action, September 16th, 1916.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	„	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	„	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	„	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	„	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	„	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	„	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	„	1903
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	„	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	„	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	„	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	„	1906.
A. E. Zimmern, Esq.	„	1910.
Miss Negreponte.	„	1912.
C. J. Ellingham, Esq.	„	1913.
Capt. H. M. Greaves, R.A.	„	1913.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.

(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.

(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to assist in editing the School Annual.

XXIX. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c. which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings a week for the smaller, and fourteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be seventeen shillings and sixpence until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1913.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1914—1915.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.
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JOHN ff. B. PENOYRE, ESQ., M.A., *Secretary*, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

DIRECTOR, 1914—1915.

A. J. B. WACE, ESQ., M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Assistant Director and *Librarian*:—F. W. HASLUCK, ESQ., M.A., Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1915—1916.

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DIRECTOR, 1915—1916.

A. J. B. WACE, ESQ., M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1916–1917.

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L. WHIBLEY, ESQ., M.A.
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JOHN ff. B. PENOYRE, ESQ., M.A., *Secretary,* 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C. 1.

DIRECTOR, 1916–1917.

A. J. B. WACE, ESQ., M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

CONTRIBUTORS to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following systems of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language :—

ANCIENT GREEK.

Vowels.

$\alpha = a$:
$\left\{ \begin{matrix} \epsilon \\ \eta \end{matrix} \right. = e$: } krater, lekane.

$\iota = i$: kalpis.

$\left\{ \begin{matrix} o \\ \omega \end{matrix} \right. = o$: kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.

$\upsilon = y$ after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix ; u after another vowel, as boule.

$\alpha\iota = ai$: Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words, such as Mycenae, which are commonly Latinised in form, when *ae* may be used.

$\epsilon\iota = ei$: Meidias.

$o\iota = oi$: Chalkioikos.

$\upsilon\iota = ui$: muia.

$\alpha\upsilon = au$: Aulis.

$\epsilon\upsilon = eu$: Eutychos.

$o\upsilon = ou$: boule.

Consonants.

$\beta = b$; $\gamma = g$; $\delta = d$; $\zeta = z$; $\theta = th$; $\kappa = k$[1] ; $\lambda = l$; $\mu = m$; $\nu = n$; $\xi = x$; $\pi = p$; $\rho = r$; $\sigma, \varsigma = s$; $\tau = t$; $\phi = ph$; $\chi = ch$; $\psi = ps$; $\gamma\gamma = ng$; $\gamma\kappa = nk$; $\gamma\chi = nch$; $\dot{\rho} = rh$.

[1] κ never $= c$ except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons like Cleon, which have become English words.

Accents.

Contributors are requested to indicate accents and breathings very clearly and accurately.

MODERN GREEK.[1]

Vowels.

$\alpha = a$:
$\epsilon = e$:
$\eta = e$:
$\iota = i$: } Πέντε Πηγάδια = Pénte Pegádia.

$\left\{ \begin{matrix} o \\ \omega \end{matrix} \right. = o$: } Γεώργιος = Geórgios.

$\upsilon = y$: Μολάοι = Moláoi. But for *αυ*, *ευ*, *ου* see below.

$\alpha\iota = ai$: Καισαριανή = Kaisariané.

$\epsilon\iota = ei$: Ἁγία Εἰρήνη = Hagía Eiréne.

$o\iota = oi$: Μύλοι = Mýloi.

$\upsilon\iota = ui$: ψυχουϊός = psychoyiós.

$o\upsilon = ou$: Σκριποῦ = Skripoú.

$\left\{ \begin{matrix} \alpha\upsilon \\ \epsilon\upsilon \end{matrix} \right. = af$ and *ef* before unvoiced consonants (θ, κ (ξ, ψ), π, ς, τ, ϕ, χ) and *av*, *ev* before vowels and voiced consonants: Εὐθύμιος = Efthýmios ; Λαύρα = Lávra.

Consonants.

$\beta = v$; $\gamma = g$, but $\gamma\gamma$, $\gamma\kappa$ and $\gamma\chi$ as *ng*, *nk* and *nch* ; $\delta = d$; $\zeta = z$; $\theta = th$; $\kappa = k$; $\lambda = l$; $\mu = m$; $\nu = n$; $\xi = x$; $\pi = p$; $\rho = r$; $\rho\rho = rrh$; $\dot{\rho} = rh$; σ, $\varsigma = s$; $\tau = t$; ϕ, χ, $\psi = ph$, *ch*, *ps*.

The rough breathing to be written h : Ἅγιος Γεώργιος = H. Geórgios.

Accents.

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters (in brackets) the first time a word occurs, and conversely the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

[1] The arguments in support of this system will be found in Mr. R. M. Dawkins' paper on 'The Transliteration of Modern Greek' in *B.S.A.* vol. xv.

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

For the conventions respecting the indication of quotations from ancient and modern authorities, titles of periodical and collective publications, transliteration of inscriptions, and quotations from MSS. and literary texts, contributors are referred to the accompanying notes drawn up by the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and kindly placed by them at the disposal of contributors to the *Annual*.

[REPRINTED FROM *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VOL. XXIX., PART II., 1909, PP. LXXXVII—IX.]

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; *e.g.* Dittenb. *Syll.*^{2} 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

A.-E.M. = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M. Coins = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Rings = British Museum Catalogue of Finger-Rings.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Jewellery = British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.
B.M. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases. = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pét. = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Εφ. Αρχ. = Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften (or Collitz-Bechtel).
Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, *H.N.*^{2} = Head, Historia Numorum. Revised Edition, 1910.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.[1]
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Liverpool Annals = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of University of Liverpool.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles. = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.

[1] The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

I.G.	I.	=	Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.
,,	II.	=	,, ,, aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
,,	III.	=	,, ,, aetatis Romanae.
,,	IV.	=	,, Argolidis.
,,	VII.	=	,, Megaridis et Boeotiae.
,,	IX.	=	,, Graeciae Septentrionalis.
,,	XII.	=	,, Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
,,	XIV.	=	,, Italiae et Siciliae.

Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.
Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.
Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Philol. = Philologus.
Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.
Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.
Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.
Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.
Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.
Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.
Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.
Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.
Röm. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
S.M.C. = Sparta Museum Catalogue.
T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.
Z.f.N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

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Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

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The aspirate, if it appears on the original, should be represented by a special sign, ʰ.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

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June, 1917

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THE FOLLOWERS OF PRAXITELES: THE DRAPERY OF THE HERMES OF OLYMPIA COMPARED WITH THE DRAPED FIGURES ON THE MANTINEAN RELIEFS AND THE MAIDEN OF HERCULANEUM.

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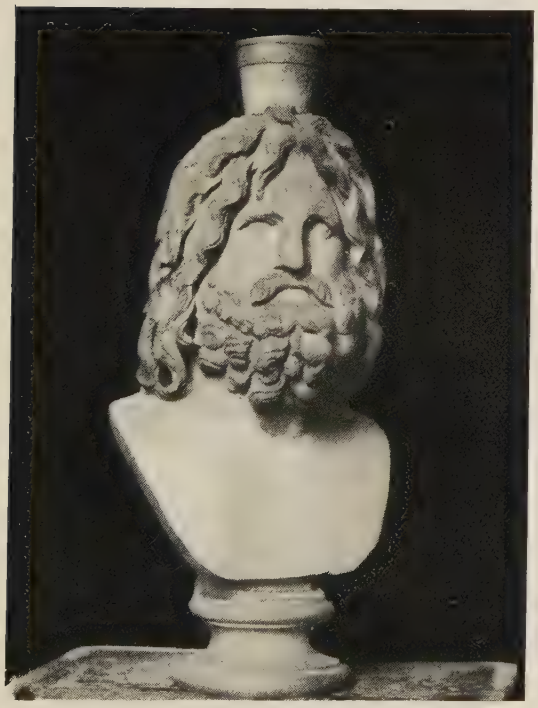

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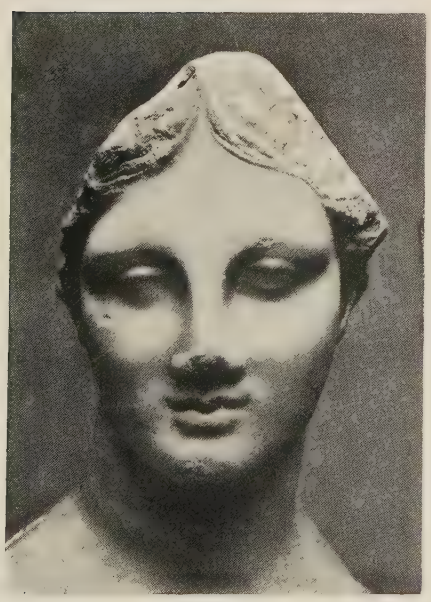

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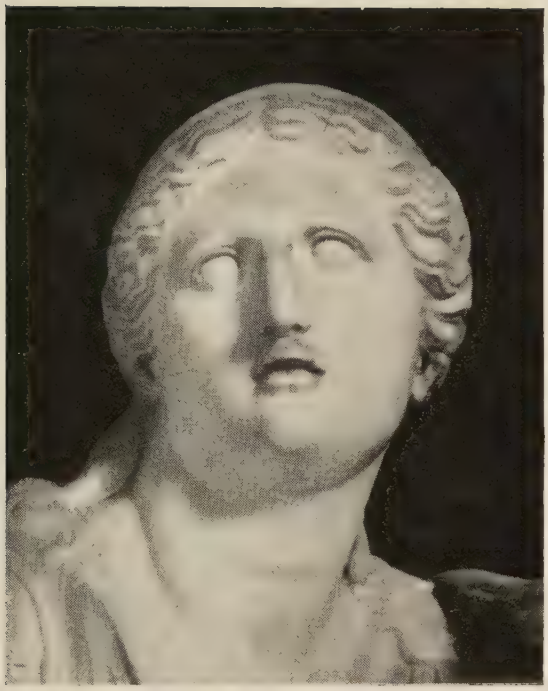

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1

2

Seljouk Buildings at Konia : The Mosque of Sultan Alaeddin. 1. The North Façade. 2. General View from the North. (*Phot.* Solakian, Konia).

1

2

Seljouk Buildings at Konia : The Mosque of Sultan Alaeddin. 1. The Great Portal.
2. Interior of the Eastern Hall.

2

3

Seljouk Buildings at Konia : The Mosque of Sultan Alaeddin. 1. Details of the Façade.
2, 3. The Turbeh and its Masjid.

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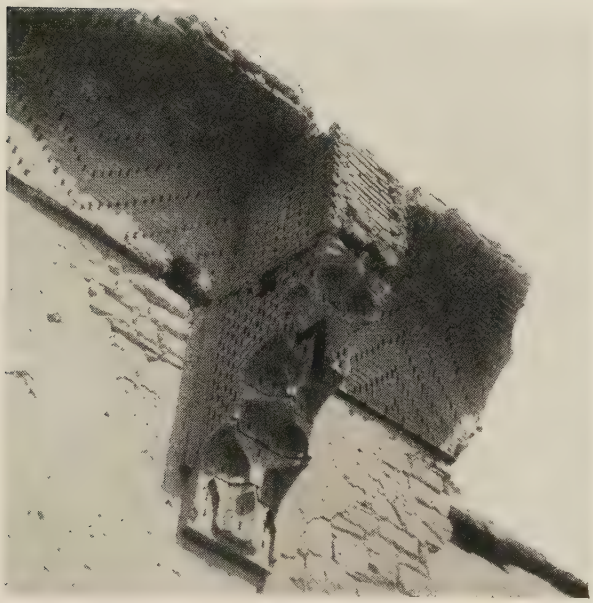

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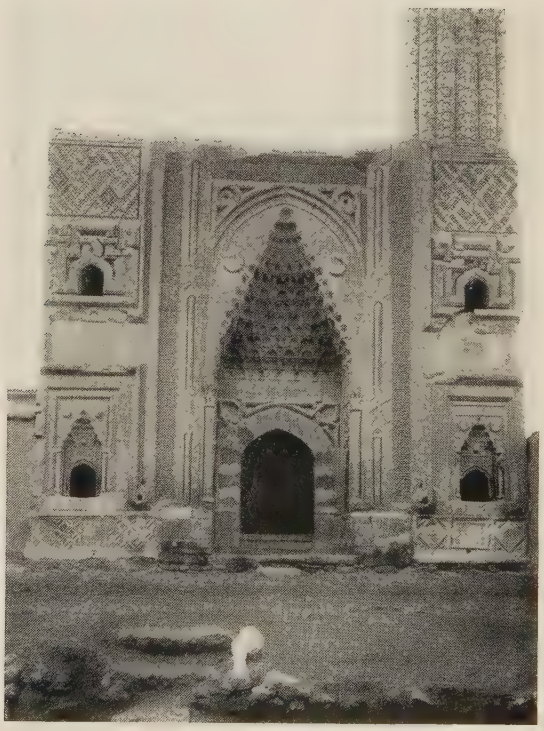

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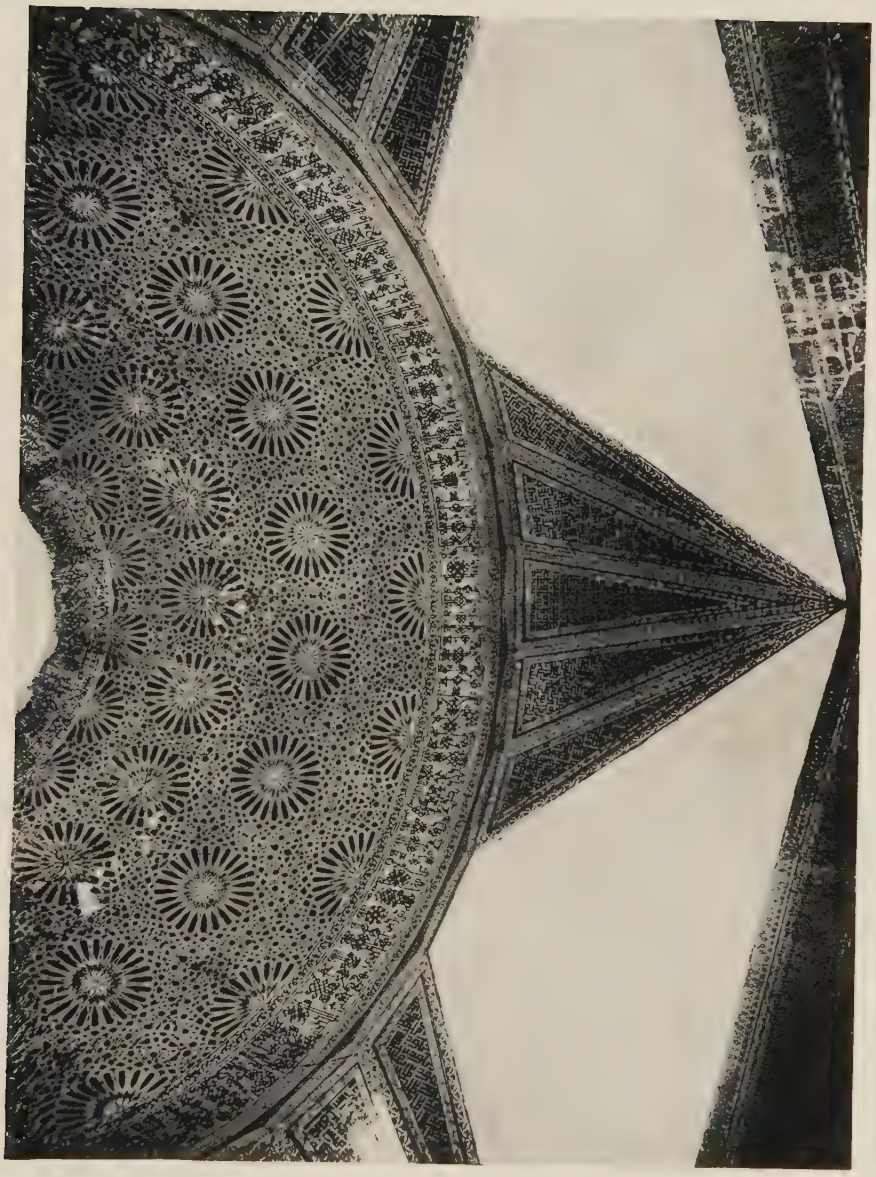
Seljouk Buildings at Konia : 1, 2. The Indjeh Minareli Medresseh and Portal. 3. Portal of the Kara Tai Medresseh.



Seljouk Buildings at Konia: Pendentive and Dome of the Kara Tai Medresseh. (*Phot.* Solakian, Konia).

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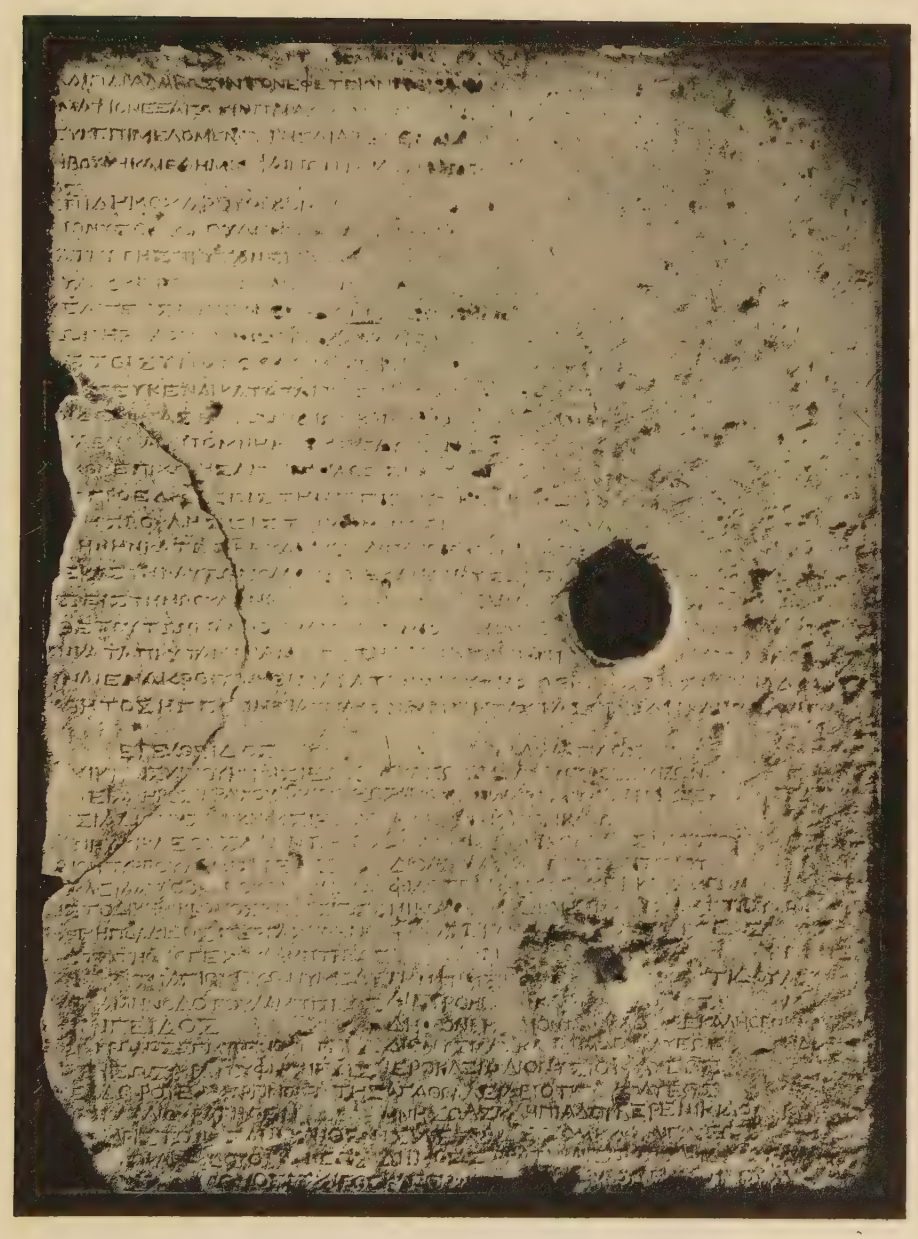
1

2

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI : 1. *Tekke* AT ARGYROKASTRO. 2. PRECINCT OF RISK BABA, CANDIA. (*Phot.* Behaeddin).



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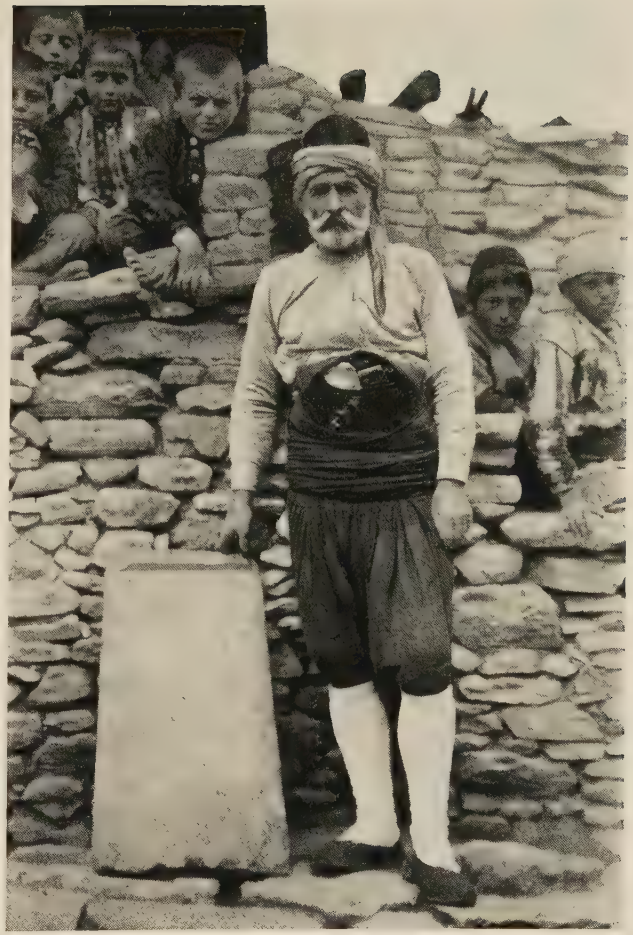

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Lydian Propitiatory Inscriptions: 1. Stele of Diokles. 2. Stele of Apollonios.

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BRUNSWICK ST., STAMFORD ST., S.E. 1,
AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.